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AN
ESTIMATE
OF THE
COMPARATIVE STRENGTH
OF
GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.

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ESTIMATE

OF THE

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN,

DURING THE

PRESENT AND FOUR PRECEDING REIGNS;

AND OF THE

LOSSES OF HER TRADE

FROM EVERY WAR

SINCE

THE REVOLUTION.

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS.

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THE PREFACE.

DURING the ſtruggles of a great nation for her ſafety, or renown, conjunctures often ariſe, when the citizen, whoſe ſtation does not admit of his giving advice, ought to offer his informations. The preſent [1782] ſeemed to be ſuch a time. And the Compiler of the following ſheets, having collected for a greater work various documents with regard to the national reſources, thought it his duty to make an humble tender to the public of that authentic intelligence, which, amidſt the wailings of deſpondency, had brought conviction and comfort to his own mind.

Little have they ſtudied the theory of man, or obſerved his familiar life, who have not remarked, that the individual finds the higheſt gratification in deploring the felicities of the paſt, even amidſt the pleaſures of the preſent. Prompted thus by temper, he has in every age complained of its decline and depopulation, while the world was the moſt populous, and its affairs the moſt proſperous. Yet, is there reaſon to hope, that as ſound philoſophy triumphs over ill-founded prejudices, the people of theſe iſlands will become leſs ſubject to the dominion of periodical apprehenſions, far leſs to the laſting impreſſions of fancied miſery.

The reader, who honours the following ſheets with an attentive peruſal, may probably find, that though we have advanced, by wide ſteps, during the laſt century, in the ſcience of politics, we have ſtill much to learn; but that the ſummit can only be gained, by ſubſtituting accurate reſearch for deluſive ſpeculation, and by rejecting zeal of paradox, for moderation of opinion.

Mankind are now too enlightened to admit of confident aſſertion, in the place of ſatisfactory proof, or plauſible novelty, for concluſive evidence. He, conſequently, who propoſes new modes of argument, muſt expect contradiction, and he who draws novel concluſions from uncommon premiſes, ought to enable the reader to examine his reaſonings; becauſe it is juſt inquiry, which can alone eſtabliſh the certainty of truth on the degradation of error. And little therefore is aſſerted in the following ſheets, without the citation of ſufficient authorities, or the mention of authentic documents, which it is now proper to explain.

As early as the reign of James I. ingenuity exerted its powers to diſcover, through the thick cloud which then enveloped an intereſting ſubject, the value of our exports and of our imports; and thence, by an eaſy deduction, to find, whether we were gainers, or loſers, by our traffic. Diligent inquirers looked into the entries at the cuſtom-houſe, becauſe they knew, that a duty of five in the hundred being collected on the value of commodities, which were ſent out and brought in, it would require no difficult calculation, to aſcertain nearly the amount of both. And, during that reign, it was eſtabliſhed as a rule, not only among merchants, but ſtateſmen, to multiply the general value of the cuſtoms, inwards and outwards, by twenty, in order to find the true amount of the various articles, which formed the aggregate of our foreign trade.

Exceptionable as this mode was, it furniſhed, through ſeveral years of darkneſs, the only light that our anceſtors had to direct their inexperienced ſteps, notwithſtanding the impatience of politicians, and even the efforts of miniſters. It is difficult to induce the old to alter the modes of their youth. When the committee of the privy council for trade, urged the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, about the end of Charles II.'s reign,—"to enter the ſeveral commodities, which formed the exports and imports, to affix to each its uſual price, and to form a general total, by calculating the value of the whole,"—the cuſtom-houſe officers inſiſted,—"that, to comply with ſuch directions, would require one half of the clerks

of

of London."—And the theoriſts of thoſe times continued to ſatisfy their curioſity, and to alarm the nation on the ſide of her commercial jealouſy; ſince there exiſted no written evidence, by which their ſtatements could be proved, or their declamations confuted.

It was to the liberality, no leſs than to the perſeverance, of the Houſe of Peers, that the public were at laſt indebted, in 1696, for the eſtabliſhment of the Inſpector-General of the Imports and Exports, and for *the Cuſtom-houſe Ledger*, which contains the particulars and value of both; and which forms, therefore, the moſt uſeful record, with regard to trade, that any country poſſeſſes.

From this authentic regiſter, the parliament was yearly ſupplied with details, either for argument or deliberation, and ſpeculatiſts were furniſhed with extracts for the exerciſe of their ingenuity, or the formation of their projects. And it is from this commercial regiſter, that *the value of cargoes exported*, which will be ſo often mentioned in this work, was alſo taken.

But, as actual enjoyment ſeldom enſures continued ſatisfaction, what had been demanded for a century, when it was regarded as unattainable, was ere long derided as defective, when it was poſſeſſed. And theoriſts, who pointed out the defects of an eſtabliſhment, that could not be made perfect, found believers enow, becauſe men's pride is gratified, by ſeeing imperfection in all things.

Againſt objectors, who thus eaſily found abettors, it was juſtly remarked, that a record, containing each ſpecific article of our imports and exports, with the mercantile value affixed to each, would give us, as it was originally intended, by a calculation tedious yet certain, the true value of both, at leaſt with as much exactneſs as a vaſt detail admits, or public utility demands; that it was not probably perceived, how impoſſible it is to ſet bounds to human vanity, caprice, and deceit, but, that as man, when engaged in ſimilar purſuits, acts nearly a ſimilar part, it was reaſonable to infer, that the

ſame vanity, caprice, or deceit, which, in one age, incited the trader to make exaggerated entries at the cuſtom-houſe, urged him, in every period, to gratify his ruling paſſion, when he was not carried from his bias by the dread of a forfeiture or a tax; ſo that the average of error, during one ſeaſon, would be nearly equal to the average of error at any other epoch.

When the committee of Peers originally affixed the price, whereby each article of export and import ſhould in future be rated, they probably knew, that the ſucceſſive fluctuation of demand, ariſing from the change of faſhion, would neceſſarily raiſe the value of ſome articles, and ſink the price of others; but, that the ſame fluctuation of taſte, which, in one age, occaſioned an apparent error, would in the next re-eſtabliſh the rule. Nor, did the Peers probably expect to aſcertain the real value of the exports, or of imports, of the current year; as the prodigious extent of the calculation did not admit of a ſpeedy deduction. But, they aimed with a laudable ſpirit to eſtabliſh a ſtandard, whereby a juſt compariſon might be made, between any two given periods of the paſt; and thereby to infer, whether our manufactures and commerce proſpered or declined, prior to the preſent year. This information *the Ledger of the Inſpector-General* does certainly convey, with ſufficient accuracy, for the uſes of practice, or the ſpeculations of theory. And, by contraſting, in the following work, the average exports of diſtant years, we are by this means enabled to trace the riſe, the decline, or the progreſs of traffic, at different periods, even in every reign.

It is to the ſame age that we owe the eſtabliſhment of *The regiſter-general of ſhipping*. The original inſtitution of this office aroſe from an indefinite clauſe in the commiſſion of the cuſtoms, in 1701. Thus it continued incidental to the appointment of the Cuſtom-houſe commiſſioners, till "the act for the union with Scotland requiring the then ſhips of Scots property to be regiſtered in this office, it was thought fit to give it a diſtinct eſtabliſhment, and at the ſame time to ex-

tend the account kept before of all ſhips trading over ſea, or coaſtways, in England, to the ſhips in Scotland *".

The ſame reaſons, which had induced the traders to enter at the Cuſtom-houſe, in reſpect to their merchandizes, rather too much, incited them, with regard to their veſſels, to regiſter the burden rather too low, becauſe a tonnage-duty, they knew, would be often required of them at many ports: in the firſt operation they were governed by their vanity; in the ſecond by their intereſt: and if the one furniſhes an evidence too flattering, the other gives a teſtimony too degrading. Thus have we, in the entries of the ſhipping at the Cuſtom-houſe, all the certainty that the entries of merchandize has been ſuppoſed to want. And in the following work the quantity of tonnage, rather than the number of ſhips, has been always ſtated, at different periods, with the value of cargoes, which they were ſuppoſed to tranſport, as being the moſt certain: when to the value of cargoes the tonnage is added, in the following pages, the reader is furniſhed with a ſupplemental proof to the uſeful notices, which each ſeparately convey.

Of the tonnage of veſſels, which will ſo often occur in the ſubſequent ſheets, it muſt be always remembered, that they do not denote ſo many diſtinct ſhips, which performed ſo many ſingle voyages: for, it frequently happens, that one veſſel enters and clears at the Cuſtom-houſe ſeveral times in one year, as the *colliers* of Whitehaven and Newcaſtle: but, theſe repeated voyages were in this manner always made, and will conſtantly continue; ſo that, being always included in the annual tonnage, we are equally enabled to form a comparative eſtimate of the advance, or decline, of our navigation, at any two given epochs of the paſt. It is to be moreover remembered, that the Britiſh veſſels enter at the Cuſtom-houſe by the regiſtered tons, and not by the meaſured burden of the ſhip, which is ſuppoſed to be gene-

* Charles Godolphin's Memorial to the Treaſury, Dec. 1717.

rally

rally one-third more; ſo that the reader may in every year's through the following ſtatements, calculate the tonnage at one-third more, than the regiſtered tonnage has given it.

The office of inſpector-general of imports and exports for Scotland, was eſtabliſhed only in 1755. And no diligence could procure authentic details of the Scots commerce from any other ſource of genuine information. The blank, which appears, in the preceding period, as to the Scots traffic, ſufficiently demonſtrates, that imperfect evidence, with regard to an important ſubject, is preferable to none; as the glimmerings of the fainteſt dawn is more invigorating than the gloom of total opacity. Connected accounts of the ſhipping of Scotland cannot be given before 1759; becauſe it is only from this year, that they have been regularly entered at the Cuſtom-houſe, at leaſt conſtantly kept. In reſpect to theſe, the ſame allowance muſt be made for *repeated voyages*, and the ſame augmentation for the *real burden* more than the *regiſtered tonnage*.

It is not pretended, that the before-mentioned Cuſtom-houſe books convey the certainty of mathematical demonſtration. It is ſufficient, that they contain *the beſt evidence which the nature of the caſe admits*. They have aſſuredly the credibility, which belongs to authentic hiſtory, though not the conviction, that is ſometimes derived from the evidence of the ſenſes. He who, in ſuch inquiries, aſks for more convincing proofs, ought to be regarded as a perſon, who, indulging a ſceptical mind, delights to walk through the mazes of uncertainty.

The ſubject of population is ſo intimately connected with every eſtimate of the ſtrength of nations, that the compiler was induced to enquire into the populouſneſs of England, at different periods, from the earlieſt times to the preſent. In this difficult diſcuſſion, men, at once candid and able, have ſpoken a language, often contradictory to each other, and ſometimes inconſiſtent with their own premiſes.

The

The Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, and Gregory King, in the laſt century, and Doctor Campbel and Doctor Price, in the preſent age, maintained opinions directly the reverſe of each other, in reſpect to the queſtion, Whether the people of this iſland have not gradually increaſed, during every age, or ſometimes diminiſhed, amid public convulſions and private miſery. The two firſt—the one a great maſter of the rules of evidence, the other equally ſkilful in calculation—have agreed in maintaining the affirmative of that queſtion. Doctor Campbel has laboured to ſhew, that the inhabitants of England diminiſhed in their numbers under the miſrule of feudal ſovereigns. And Doctor Price has equally contended, that the people have decreaſed, ſince a happier government was introduced at *the Revolution*, and that they continue to decreaſe.

It is propoſed to review hiſtorically the ſentiments of each, with deſign rather to aſcertain the authenticity of their facts, than to eſtabliſh, or overturn, their ſeveral ſyſtems. The candid inquirer may perhaps ſee cauſe for lamenting, in his progreſs, that the learned are ſometimes too confident, and the unlettered always too credulous. And he will have an opportunity, as he advances, of liſtening to the ſentiments of his anceſtors, on various topics of legiſlation, and of obſerving the condition of different ranks of men, previous to the period, at which THIS ESTIMATE properly begins.

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OF the exiſting numbers of mankind, in ſucceſſive ages of the world, various writers have given diſſimilar accounts, becauſe they did not always acknowledge the ſame facts, or often adopt the ſame principles, in their moſt ingenious diſquiſitions.

The Lord Chief Juſtice Hale formerly, and Sir James Stuart and the Count de Buffon lately, conſidered men, as urged, like other animals, by natural inſtincts; as directed, like them, by the ſame motives of propagation; and as ſubſiſted afterwards, or deſtroyed, by ſimilar means.

It is inſtinct then, which, according to theſe illuſtrious authors, is the cauſe of procreation; but it is food, that keeps population full, and accumulates numbers. The force of the firſt principle we behold in the multitudes, whether of the fiſh of the ſea, the fowls of the air, or the beaſts of the field, which are yearly produced: we perceive however the eſſential conſequence of the laſt, from the vaſt numbers that annually periſh for want.

Experience indeed evinces, to what an immenſe extent domeſtic animals may be multiplied, by providing abundance of food. In the ſame manner, mankind have been found to exiſt and increaſe, in every condition, and in every age, according to the ſtandard of their ſubſiſtence, and to the meaſure of their comforts.

Hence Mr. Hume juſtly concludes, that if we would bring to ſome determination the queſtion concerning the populouſneſs of ancient and modern times, it will be requiſite to compare the *domeſtic* and *political* ſituations of the two periods, in order to judge of the facts by their moral cauſes; becauſe, if every thing elſe be equal, it ſeems reaſonable to expect, that where there are the wiſeſt inſtitutions, and the moſt happineſs, there will alſo be the moſt people.

Let us run over the hiſtory of England, then, with a view to theſe reaſonings and to theſe facts.

Settled probably about a thouſand years before the birth of Chriſt, England was found, on the arrival of Cæſar, to contain a *great multitude of people*. But this *royal and noble author* tranſmitted notices, with regard to the modes of life, which prevailed among thoſe whom he came to conquer, whence we may judge of their numbers with greater certainty, than from the accuracy of his language, or the weight of his authority. And he ſubmits to our judgment ſufficient *data*, when he informs us, that the inhabitants of the inland country ſubſiſted by feeding of flocks, while their neighbours

neighbours along the ſhores of the ocean were maintained by the more productive labours of agriculture.

Having already arrived, ſome of the tribes in the ſecond, and others of them in the third ſtage of ſociety, in its progreſs to refinement, the Britons were ſoon taught the arts of manufacture, and the purſuits of commerce, by their civilizing conquerors. A people who annually employed eight hundred veſſels to export the ſurplus produce of their huſbandry, muſt have exerted great induſtry at home, and enjoyed ſufficient plenty from it. Roman Britain, of conſequence, muſt have become extremely populous, during that long period, from the arrival of the Romans, 55 years before the birth of Chriſt, to the abdication of their government, in 446 of our æra*.

From this event commenced a war of ſix hundred years continuance, if we calculate the ſettlement of the Saxons, the ravages of the Danes, and the conqueſt of the Normans. A courſe of hoſtilities, thus lengthened beyond example, and waſteful beyond deſcription, changed completely the political ſituation of the people, by involving them in ages of wretchedneſs. It was to theſe cauſes owing, that the inhabitants became divided, at the epoch of *The Conqueſt*, into five ſeveral claſſes; the barons, the free tenants, the free ſoccagers, together with the villains and the ſlaves, who formed the great body of the people †.

* Mr. Whitaker's Hiſtory of Mancheſter. † Id.

A conſideration of the foregoing events, it probably was, with the wretched condition of every order of men, which induced the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale and Mr. Gregory King to agree in aſſerting *, "that the people of England, at the "arrival of the Normans, might be ſomewhat "above *two million*." And the notices of that moſt inſtructive record, the Domeſday Book, ſeem to juſtify the conjectures of both, by exhibiting ſatisfactory proofs of a very ſcanty population in the country, as well as in the towns.

The annals of England, from the epoch of the Conqueſt to the date of the Great Charter (from 1066 to 1215) are filled with revolutions in the government, and inſurrections of the people; with domeſtic war and foreign ravages; with frequent famines, and their attendant peſtilence.

Doctor Campbel has enumerated ‡ various circumſtances to demonſtrate the unhappineſs of the nation, during thoſe times, equally ferocious and unſettled; and, by neceſſary conſequence, the conſtant decline of their numbers.

Few revolutions, ſaid he, even when achieved by the moſt waſteful conquerors, appear to have been attended with ſo ſudden a revolution, both of property and of power, as that which William I. unhappily introduced into England. The conſtitution, from being limited and free, became at once arbitrary and ſevere. While the

* Origination of Mankind; and Davenant's Works.

‡ Political Survey.

ancient

ancient nobility ſeemed to be annihilated, the Saxon people were aſſuredly reduced to villainage. And thoſe revolts enſued ſucceſſively, which neceſſarily ariſe, when a gallant people are deſpiſed, at the ſame time that they are oppreſſed. The Conqueror, urged partly by revenge, perhaps more by policy, was provoked, by the inſurrection of the northern counties, to preſcribe remedies as ſevere as they were barbarous. He ſo effectually depopulated the extenſive country from *the Humber* to *the Tees*, that it lay for years uncultivated, whereby multitudes periſhed for want. The pleaſures of *William* too were as deſtructive to the people as his anger. In forming the New Foreſt, he laid waſte an extent of thirty miles in Hampſhire, without regarding the cries of villagers, or the ſacredneſs of churches. And his gratitude to his ſupporters, though attended with leſs violence, produced, in the end, conſequences ſtill more fatal, with regard to the depopulation of England, than had reſulted either from his reſentment, or his ſport. He diſtributed the whole kingdom to about ſeven hundred of his principal officers, who afterwards divided among their followers the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, on ſuch precarious tenures as ſecured the ſubmiſſion of the lower orders, though not their happineſs.

The Conqueror's meaſures, thus harſhly executed, continued to influence all ranks of men, long after the terrors of his government had ceaſed; and while they neither ſecured the quiet, nor pro-

moted the plenty of the nation, his rigours probably added very few to its numbers.

The great charter of John made no alteration in public law, or any innovation in private rights: and though it conferred additional ſecurity on the free, it gave little freedom to the ſlave. Yet, the barbarous licence both of kings and nobles being thenceforth ſomewhat reſtrained, government, ſays Mr. Hume, approached by degrees nearer to that end for which it was inſtituted, the equal protection of every order in the ſtate.

This general reaſoning, however juſt, did not impoſe on the ſagacity of Doctor Campbel, who minutely examined every circumſtance in our ſubſequent annals, that tended either to retard or promote an effective population. He found no event in the long reign of Henry III. filled as it was with diſtraction, proceeding from weakneſs, and with civil war, the reſult of turbulence, which could have added one man to our numbers. Though hiſtorians have celebrated the following reigns of our Edwards, as the moſt glorious in our annals; yet he remarked, that, during a period wherein there were ſcarcely ten years of peace, the eclat of victories, the ſplendour of triumphs, or the acquiſition of diſtant territories, did not compenſate the loſs of inhabitants, who continually decreaſed, from the waſte of foreign and civil wars, and from the debility of peſtilential diſtempers, ariſing from a wretched huſbandry, as much as from a noxious ſtate of the atmoſphere. It was a

ſhrewd remark of Major Graunt, when he was reflecting over "*the ſickline ſs, the healthfulneſs, and fruit-*" *fulneſs of ſeaſons*," that "*the more ſickly the years* "*are, the leſs fruitful of children they alſo be.*"

The firſt notice, which the Parliament ſeem to have taken of the paucity of inhabitants, may be ſeen in the *Statute of Labourers*, that was enacted in 1349. This law recites—" That whereas a great part of the people, and eſpecially of workmen and ſervants, late died of the peſtilence, many, ſeeing the neceſſity of maſters and great ſcarcity of ſervants, will not ſerve, unleſs they receive exceſſive wages, ſome being rather willing to beg in idleneſs, than by labour to get their living." Conſidering therefore " the grievous incommodities which of the lack, eſpecially of ploughmen and ſuch labourers, may hereafter come," Edward III. with the aſſiſtance of the *prelates*, the *nobles*, and the *learned men*, ordained a variety of regulations, unjuſt in their theory, and violent in their execution *. This edict of the King in council was enforced

* Theſe regulations may be ſeen in Cay's Collection of Statutes, vol. i. p. 261—3; and ſufficiently evince to what a deplorable ſtate of ſlavery the collective maſs of the people was then reduced. " Every able-bodied perſon, under ſixty years of age, not having ſufficient to live on, being required, ſhall be bound to ſerve him that doth require him, or elſe ſhall be committed to gaol, till he finds ſecurity to ſerve. If a ſervant, or workman, depart from ſervice before the time agreed upon, he ſhall be impriſoned. If any artificer take more wages than were wont to be paid, he ſhall be committed to gaol." The

forced by the legiſlature in the ſubſequent year—"on the petition of the commonalty, that the ſaid ſervants, having no regard to the ſaid ordinance, but to their eaſe and ſingular covetiſe, do withdraw to ſerve great men and other, *unleſs they have wages and living to the double and treble of that they were wont to take the twentieth year of the king that now is.*"

Yet, after adjuſting minutely the prices of labour, of natural products, and even of manufactures, the ſtatute of the 23d Edward III. directed, "that the artificers ſhould be ſworn to uſe their crafts as they did in the twentieth year of the ſame king*" (1346), under the penalty of impriſonment, at the diſcretion of the Juſtices. The Parliament buſied themſelves, year after year, in regulating labour, which had been defrauded of its juſt reward, by conſiderable defalcations from the coin†. During an adminiſtration leſs active, and vigorous,

ſeverity of theſe penalties was ſoon greatly increaſed by the 34th Edward III. which directs, "That if any labourer or ſervant flee to any town, the chief officer ſhall deliver him up: and if they depart to another county, they ſhall be burnt in the forehead with the letter F." Thus, ſays Anderſon, they lived, till manufactures drove ſlavery away.

Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 204.

* Chap. 1—7.

† From the value of *the pound*, or twenty ſhillings in preſent money, as eſtabliſhed by Edward I. in 1300, there were deducted by Edward III. in the 18th of his reign, 4*s.* 11*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, and in the 20th of his reign 9*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ more; ſo that there had been

vigorous, and reſpected, than Edward's, ſuch regulations had produced tumult and revolt. Scarcely indeed was that great monarch laid in his grave, when the confirmation of the ſame ſtatutes, by his feeble ſucceſſor, gave riſe to the memorable rebellion of Tyler and Straw, ſo deſtructive in its immediate effects, ſo beneficial in its ultimate conſequences! The common people acquired implied liberty from inſurrection, while the Parliament were enacting*, "*that forced manumiſſions ſhould be conſidered as void.*" And ſuch are the revolutions, which inſenſibly take place, during ages of darkneſs, before the eyes of chroniclers, who are carried away by the ſound of words, without regarding the efficacy of things.

The declamatory recitals of ſuch ſtatutes ought generally to be regarded as ſlight proofs of the authenticity of facts, unleſs where they are ſupported by collateral circumſtances. From the reiterated debaſement of the coin, which proceeded from the expenſive wars of Edward III. we might be apt to infer, that the recited deſtruction of the peſtilence was merely a pretence to palliate motives of avarice, or to juſtify the rigours of oppreſſion.

On the other hand, Doctor Mead aſſures us, that the greateſt mortality, which has happened in

been taken no leſs than five ſhillings and nine pence from the ſtandard pound, ſettled in 1300, of £.2. 17*s.* 5*d.*

Harris on Coins, part ii. ch. 1.

* By the 5th Richard II.

later ages, was about the middle of the fourteenth century; when the plague that ſeized England, Scotland, and Ireland, in 1349, *is ſaid* to have diſpeopled the earth of *more than half* of its inhabitants *. The Commons petitioned, during the Parliament † of 1364, that, in conſideration of the preceding peſtilence, the King would allow perſons, who held lands of him in chief, to let leaſes without a licence, as had been lately practiſed, *till the country were become more populous.* From the 23d of Edward I. when the cities and boroughs are ſaid to have been firſt formally ſummoned to Parliament, to the demiſe of Edward IV. the ſheriffs often returned, *That there were no cities or boroughs in their counties, whence repreſentatives could be ſent.* This form of expreſſion Doctor Brady ‡ has very juſtly explained to mean, That the towns were ſo depopulated and poor, as to be unable to pay the accuſtomed expences of delegates. The truth of this repreſentation, and of this commentary, is indeed confirmed by a law of Henry VII. §; which recites, That where, in ſome towns, two hundred perſons lived by their lawful labours, now they are occupied by two or three herdſmen, and the reſidue fall into

* Diſcourſe concerning Peſt. Contag. p. 24—5.

† Cott. Abt. of Records, p. 97.

‡ Of Boroughs, p. 125, &c.

§ 4th Henry VII. ch. 19; which is publiſhed in the Appendix to Pickering's Statutes, vol. xxiii.

idleneſs.

idleneſs. And from the foregoing facts we may ſurely infer, that there muſt have been a great paucity of people in England, during thoſe *good old times*, at leaſt towards the concluſion of the celebrated reign of Edward III.

From incontrovertible evidence we can now eſtabliſh the whole number of inhabitants, with ſufficient exactneſs to anſwer all the practical purpoſes of the ſtateſman, and even to ſatisfy all the ſcrupulous doubts of the ſceptic. A poll-tax of four pence having been impoſed by the Parliament of the 51ſt of Edward III. (1377) on every *lay* perſon, as well male as female, of *fourteen* years and upwards, real mendicants only excepted, an official return of the perſons who paid the tax, in each county, city, and town, has been happily preſerved *. And from this *ſubſidy-roll* it appears,

* This record, ſo inſtructive as to the ſtate of England at the demiſe of Edward III. was laid before the Antiquary Society, in December 1784, by Mr. Topham of the Paper-Office; a gentleman, whoſe curious reſearch with regard to the juriſprudence and hiſtory of his country, as well as communicative diſpoſition, merits the greateſt praiſe. Mr. Topham obſerved, that the ſum collected, in conſequence of the ſubſidy of 1377, being £.22,607. 2*s*. 8*d*. contained only 1,356,428 groats, which ought to have been the amount of thoſe who were fourteen years of age and upwards. But I have choſen to ſtate the number of perſons, who are mentioned in the roll as having paid, in each county and town, amounting to 1,367,239, though the total miſtakingly added on the record is 1,376,442.

that

that the *lay* perſons who paid this tax amounted to - - - - - 1,367,239.

When we have aſcertained what proportion the perſons paying bore to *the whole*, we ſhall be able to form a ſufficient eſtimate of the total population. It appears from the Table formed by Doctor Halley, according to the Breſlaw births and burials; from the Northampton Table; from the Norwich Table; and from the London Table, conſtructed by Mr. Simpſon; as theſe Tables are publiſhed by Doctor Price*, That the perſons at any time living *under* fourteen years of age are a good deal fewer than *one third* of the co-exiſting lives. And the *lay* perſons, who paid the tax in 1377, muſt conſequently have been a *good deal more* than *two thirds* of the whole.

But, ſince there may have been omiſſions of the perſons paying -		1,367,239
Add one third - - - -		455,746
		1,822,985
Add the number of beneficed clergy paying the tax - -	15,229	
And the non-beneficed clergy - - - -	13,932	
		29,161
		1,852,146

* Obſerv. on Reverſ. Payments, vol. ii. p. 35—6, 39—40.

But

But Wales, not being included in this roll, is placed on a footing with Yorkſhire *, at - - -	174,720
Cheſhire and Durham, having had their own receivers, do not appear on the roll; the firſt is ranked with Cornwall, at - - - - -	45,700
The ſecond with Northumberland, at	20,412
The whole people of England and Wales - - - -	2,092,978

We can now build upon a rock; having before us proofs almoſt equal in certainty to actual enumerations. Yet what a picture of public miſrule, and private miſery, does the foregoing ſtatement diſplay, during an unhappy period of three hun-

* From Davenant's Table (in his Eſſay on Ways and Means, p. 76.) it appears, that Wales paid a much ſmaller ſum to the poll-tax of the 1ſt of William and Mary, to the quarterly poll, and indeed to every other tax, and contained a much lower number of houſes, according to the hearth-books of Lady-day 1690. It was giving a very large allowance to Wales, when this country was placed on an equality with Yorkſhire, which paid, in 1377, for 131,040 lay perſons. The population of Cheſhire and Durham was ſettled upon ſimilar principles; and is equally ſtated in the text at a medium rather too high. So that, as far as we can credit this authentic record, in reſpect to the whole number of lay perſons upwards of fourteen years of age, we muſt believe, that this kingdom contained at the demiſe of Edward III. about TWO MILLIONS, one hundred thouſand ſouls; making a reaſonable allowance for the uſual omiſſions of taxable perſons.

dred

dred years! We here behold the powerful operation of thoſe cauſes of depopulation, which Doctor Campbel collected, in order to ſupport his hypotheſis of a decreaſing population, in *feudal times*. But were we to admit that one half of the people had been carried off by the deſolating plague of 1349, as Doctor Mead ſuppoſes; or even one third, as Mr. Hume repreſents with greater probability; we ſhould find abundant reaſon to admire the ſolidity of Lord Hale's argument, in favour of a progreſſive population; becauſe this circumſtance would alone evince, that there had been, during that long effluxion of time, a conſiderable increaſe of numbers, in different ages of tranquillity or of healthineſs. A compariſon too of the notices of Domeſday Book with the ſtatements of the Subſidy Roll, would ſhew a much inferior populouſneſs ſoon after the Conqueſt in 1077, than at the demiſe of Edward III. in 1377.

We ſhall find additional proofs, perhaps ſome amuſement, from taking a view of our principal towns, as they were found, and are repreſented by the tax-gatherers, in 1377.

London paid for -	23,314 lay perſons ; and	
contained conſequently about -		33,000 ſouls.
Weſtminſter for -	7,389 -	10,000
York for - -	7,248 -	10,000
Briſtol for - -	6,345 -	9,000
Plymouth for -	4,837 -	6,500
Coventry for -	4,817 -	6,500
Norwich * for -	3,952 -	5,300
Lincoln for -	3,412 -	4,600
Sarum (Wilts) for	3,226 -	4,400
Lynn for - -	3,127 -	4,200
Colcheſter for -	2,955 -	4,000
Beverley for -	2,663 -	3,600
Newcaſtle on Tyne for	2,647 -	3,600
Canterbury for -	2,574 -	3,500
St. Edmondſbury for	2,442 -	3,300
Oxford for -	2,357 -	3,200
Gloceſter for -	2,239 -	3,000
Leiceſter for -	2,101 -	3,000
Salop for - -	2,082 -	3,000

* Dr. Price talks of Norwich having been a great city *formerly*. The Domeſday Book ſhews ſufficiently the diminutiveneſs of our towns in 1077 : and Mr. Topham's Subſidy Roll puts an end to conjecture with regard to the populouſneſs of any of them anterior to 1377.

Theſe

Theſe are the only towns, which then paid the poll-tax of a groat for more than two thouſand lay perſons, of fourteen years of age and upwards. And their inconſiderableneſs evinces a marvellous depopulation in the country, and a lamentable want of manufactures and commerce every where in England. Yet, Domeſday Book repreſents our cities to have been little ſuperior to villages at the Conqueſt *, and ſtill more inconſiderable than they certainly were at the demiſe of Edward III.

The informations of contemporary writers would, nevertheleſs, lead us to conſider thoſe early reigns as times of overflowing populouſneſs. Amidſt all that depopulation, Edward III. is ſaid to have ſuddenly collected, in 1360, a hundred thouſand men, whom he tranſported in eleven hundred veſſels to France†. It did not, however, eſcape the ſagacity of Mr. Hume, when he reflected on the high pay of the ſoldiers, that the numerous armies mentioned by the hiſtorians of thoſe days, conſiſted chiefly of raggamuffins, who followed the camp for plunder. In 1382, the rebels, ſays Daniel ‡, ſuddenly marched towards London, under Wat. Tyler and Jack Straw, and muſtered on Blackheath ſixty thouſand ſtrong, or, as others ſay, an hundred thouſand. In 1415, Henry V. invaded France with a fleet of ſixteen hundred ſail ‖, and fifty thouſand combatants, who

* See Brady on Boroughs.

† Ander. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 191.

‡ Hiſtory of Richard, in Kennet, p. 245.

‖ And. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 245.

not

not long after won the glorious battle of Azincourt. Hiſtory is filled with ſuch inſtances of vaſt armies, which had been haſtily levied for temporary enterprizes: yet, we ought not thence to infer, that the country was overſtocked with inhabitants. The ſtatute of the 9th Henry V. recites, "That whereas, at the making of the act of "the 14th of Edward III. (1340) there were ſuf-"ficient of proper men in each county to execute "every office; but that, owing to peſtilence and "wars, there are not now (1421) a ſufficiency of "reſponſible perſons to act as ſheriffs, coroners, "and eſcheators." The laurels which were gained by Henry V. are well known, ſays the learned obſerver on the ancient ſtatutes; but he hath left us, in the preamble of one of his ſtatutes, moſt irrefragable proof, that they were not obtained, but at the deareſt price, *the depopulation of the country.*

The facility with which great bodies of men were collected, in thoſe early ages, exhibits then, for our inſtruction, a picture of manners, idle and licentious; and ſhews only, for our comfort, that the moſt numerous claſſes of mankind exiſted in a condition, which is not to be envied by thoſe, who, in better times, enjoy either health or eaſe.

The period from the acceſſion of Henry IV. in 1399, to the proclamation of Henry VII. in 1485, may be regarded as the moſt diſaſtrous in our latter annals; becauſe, a civil war, remarkable for the inveteracy of the leaders, and for the waſte of the people, began with the one event, and ended with

the other. Doctor Campbel has collected the *various circumstances of depopulation*; tending to prove, that the number of inhabitants, which, before the bloody contests between the Lancastrians and Yorkists began, had been already much lessened, was in the end greatly reduced, by a series of the most destructive calamities. The monuments of more settled times were demolished; the country was laid waste; cities sunk into towns, while towns dwindled into villages: and universal desolation is said to have ensued. If, indeed, we could implicitly credit the recitals of the laws of Henry VII. we should find sufficient evidence, "That great desolations daily do increase, by pull-"ing down and wilful waste of houses and towns, "and by laying to pasture lands which customably "have been used in tillage."

An important change had certainly taken place mean while, in the condition of the great body of the people, which fortunately promoted their happiness, and which consequently proved favourable to the propagation of the species.

There existed in England, at the Conquest, no *free hands*, or freemen, who worked for wages; since the scanty labour of times, warlike and unindustrious, was wholly performed by villains, or by slaves. The latter, who composed a very numerous class, equally formed an object of foreign trade, for ages after the arrival of the Conqueror, who only prohibited the sale of them to infidels*.

* Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain.

But

But *the ſlaves* had happily departed from the land before the reign of Henry III. This we may infer from the law declaring, in 1225, "*How men* "*of all ſorts ſhall be amerced* *:" and it only mentions villains, freemen, (though probably not in the modern ſenſe), merchants, barons, earls, and men of the church. Another order of men is alluded to rather than mentioned, during the ſame ſeſſion; whom we ſhall find, in after times, riſing to great importance, from their numbers and opulence. And a woollen manufacture, having already increaſed to that ſtage of it when frauds begin, was regulated by the act †, which required, "*There ſhall be but one meaſure throughout the* "*realm.*"

Yet this manufacture continued inconſiderable during the warlike reign of Edward I. and the turbulent adminiſtration of his immediate ſucceſſor, if we may judge from the vaſt exportations of wool.

The year 1331 marks the firſt arrival of Walloon manufacturers, when Edward III. wiſely determined to invite foreigners into England ‡, to inſtruct his ſubjects in the uſeful arts. As early as the Parliament of 1337, it was enacted, That no wool ſhould be exported; that no one ſhould wear any but Engliſh cloth; that no clothes made beyond ſeas ſhould be imported; that foreign clothworkers might come into the king's domi-

* 9 Henry III. ch. 14. † 9 Henry III. ch. 25.
‡ And. Chron. Ac. of Com. v. i. p. 162.

nions, and ſhould have ſuch franchiſes as might ſuffice them.

Before this time, ſays De Wit *, when the tumults of the manufacturers in Flanders obliged them to ſeek ſhelter in other countries, the Engliſh were little more than ſhepherds and wool-ſellers. From this epoch manufactures became often the object of legiſlation, and the ſpirit of induſtry will be found to have influenced greatly the ſtate of population.

The ſtatutes of labourers of 1349 and 1350 demonſtrate a conſiderable change in the condition and purſuits of the moſt numerous claſſes. During ſeveral reigns after the Conqueſt, men laboured, becauſe they were ſlaves. For ſome years before theſe regulations of the price of work, men were engaged to labour, from a ſenſe of their own freedom, and of their own wants. It was the ſtatutes of labourers †, which, adding the compulſion of law to the calls of neceſſity, created oppreſſion for ages, while they ought to have given relief. It is extremely difficult to aſcertain the time when villainage ceaſed in England, or even to trace its decline. The Edwards, during the preſſure of their foreign conqueſts, certainly manumitted many of their villains for money. Owing

* Intereſt of Holland.

† See the 12th Richard II. ch. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9. By theſe, no artificer, labourer, ſervant, or victualler, ſhall depart from one hundred to another, without licence under the king's ſeal. Theſe laws, ſays Anderſon, are ſufficient proofs of the ſlaviſh condition of the common ſervants in thoſe times (1388).

to the previous fewneſs of inhabitants, the numerous armies, which for almoſt a century deſolated the nation amidſt our civil wars, muſt have been neceſſarily compoſed of the lower ranks: and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the men, who had been brought from the drudgeries of ſlavery to contend as ſoldiers, for the honour of nobles and the rights of kings, would not readily relinquiſh the honourable ſword for the meaner ploughſhare. The church, even in the darkeſt ages, remonſtrated againſt the unchriſtian practice of holding fellow-men in bondage. The courts of juſtice did not willingly enforce the maſter's claim to the ſervitude of his villains, till, in the progreſs of knowledge, intereſt diſcovered, that the purchaſed labour of freemen was more productive than the liſtleſs and ignoble toil of ſlaves. Owing to theſe cauſes, there were certainly few villains in England at the acceſſion of Henry VII.*; and the great body of the people having thus gained greater freedom, and with it greater comfort, thenceforth acquired the numerous bleſſings, which every where reſult from an orderly adminiſtration of eſtabliſhed government.

During almoſt a century, before the acceſſion of Henry VII. in 1485, the manufacturers of wool,

* The ſtatute of 23 Henry VI. chap. 12. mentions only ſervants, artificers, workmen, and labourers; and there is a diſtinction made between huſbandry ſervants and domeſtic ſervants. Yet villains are ſpoken of, even in our courts of juſtice, though ſeldom, as late as the time of James I.

with their attendant artificers, had fixed the ſeat of their induſtry, in every county in England. The principle of the act of navigation had been introduced into our legiſlation, as early as 1381, by the law declaring *, "That none of the king's "ſubjects ſhall carry forth, or bring merchandizes, "but only in ſhips of the king's allegiance." The fiſheries too had been encouraged †. Agriculture had been moreover promoted, by the law which declared ‡, "That all the king's ſubjects "may carry corn out of the realm when they "will." And *guilds*, *fraternities*, and *other companies*, having ſoon after their creation impoſed monopolizing reſtraints, were corrected by a law of Henry VI. §; though our legiſlators were not very ſteady, during an unenlightened age, in the application of ſo wiſe a policy.

In reading the laws of Edward IV. we think ourſelves in modern times, while the ſpirit of the mercantile ſyſtem was in its full vigour, before it had been ſo perſpicuouſly explained and ſo ably exploded ‖. It is however in the laws ** of Richard III. that we ſee more clearly the commercial ſtate of England, during the long period, wherein the Engliſh people were unhappily too much engaged in *king-making*. In *thoſe* inauſpicious times was

* 5 Richard II. ch. 3.—6 Richard, ch. 8.
† By 6 Richard II. ch. 11, 12.
‡ 17 Richard II. ch. 7.
§ 15 Hen. VI. ch. 6.
‖ By Dr. Smith's Eſſay on the Wealth of Nations.
** 1 Richard III. ch. 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13.

the

the trade of England chiefly carried on by Italians, at leaſt by merchants from the ſhores of the Mediterranean. The manufacturers were compoſed moſtly of Flemings, who, under the encouragement of Edward III. had fled from the diſtractions of the Netherlands, for repoſe and employment in England. And the peruſal of the preamble of one of Richard's laws *, will furniſh a convincing proof of this: "Moreover, a great number of artificers and other ſtrangers, not born under the king's obeiſance, do daily reſort to London, and to other cities, boroughs, and towns, and much more than they were wont to do in times paſt, and inhabit by themſelves in this realm, with their wives, children, and houſehold; and will not take upon them any laborious occupation, as going to plough and cart, and other like buſineſs, but uſe the making of cloth, and other handicrafts and eaſy occupations; and bring from the parts beyond the ſea great ſubſtance of wares and merchandizes to fairs and markets, and other places, at their pleaſure, to the impoveriſhment of the king's ſubjects; and will only take into their ſervice people born in their own countries; whereby the king's ſubjects, for lack of occupation, fall into idleneſs and vicious living, to the great per-

* 1 Richard III. ch. 9. But Henry VII., *upon the ſupplication of the Italian merchants*, repealed the greater part of this law, which impoſed reſtraints on *aliens*; yet retained the forfeitures incurred, in the true ſpirit of his avaricious government.

" turbance of the realm."—All this was directed otherwiſe by Henry VII. though probably without much ſucceſs, " upon the petition made of " the Commons of England." In the preſent times, it is perhaps the wiſeſt policy, *neither to encourage foreigners to come, nor to drive them away.*

When manufacturers have been thoroughly ſettled, nothing more is wanting to promote the wealth and populouſneſs of a country from their labour, than the protection of their property and freedom, by the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; while their frauds are repreſſed, and their combinations prevented, by doing equal right to every order in the ſtate.

The policy of Henry VII. has been praiſed by hiſtorians fully equal to its worth. Anderſon relates *, that this prince, " finding the woollen ma- " nufactures declining, drew over ſome of the beſt " Netherland clothmakers, as Edward III. had " done 150 years before." This is probably ſaid without authority; ſince the law of the preceding reign, concurring with the temper of the times, did not permit the eaſy execution of ſo unpopular a meaſure. Henry VII. like his two immediate predeceſſors, turned the attention of the Parliament to agriculture and manufacture, to commerce and navigation, becauſe he found the current of the national ſpirit already running toward all theſe ſalutary objects: hence, ſays Bacon, it was no hard matter to diſpoſe and affect the Parliament

* Chron. Acc. of Com. v. i. p. 306.

in

in this buſineſs. And the legiſlature enacted a variety of laws, which that illuſtrious hiſtorian explains, with his uſual perſpicuity *; all tending, ſays he, in their wiſe policy, *towards the population apparently, and the military forces of the realm certainly.*

That monarch's meaſures for breaking the oppreſſive power of the nobles; for facilitating the alienation of lands; *for keeping within reaſonable bounds the bye-laws of corporations*; and, above all, for ſuppreſſing the numerous bodies of men, who were then retained in the ſervice of the great; all theſe deſerve the higheſt commendation, becauſe they were attended with effects, as laſting as they were efficacious.

It may be however doubted, whether his piddling huſbandry of petty farms, which has been oſtentatiouſly praiſed by Doctor Price, can produce a ſufficiency of food for a manufacturing country, or even prevent the too frequent returns of famine. Agriculture muſt be practiſed as a trade, before it can ſupply ſuperabundance. Certain it is †, however, that till the reign of Henry VIII. we had in England no carrots, turnips, cabbages, or ſallads; and few of the fruits, which now ornament our gardens, or exhilarate our tables.

The ſpirit of improvement, however, which had taken deep root, before the acceſſion of Henry VIII. continued to ſend forth vigorous ſhoots dur-

* Hiſtory in Kennet, v. i. p. 504—7.

† And. Chron. Com. v. i. p. 338.

ing

ing his reign. This we might infer from the frequent proclamations againſt the practice of incloſing, which was ſaid to create *a decay of huſbandry*. On the other hand, a ſtatute was enacted to enforce the ſowing of flax-ſeed and hemp. The nation is repreſented *to have been over-run by foreign manufacturers*, whoſe ſuperior diligence and œconomy occaſioned popular tumults. While the kingdom was gradually filling with people, it was the yearly practice to grant money to repair towns, which were ſuppoſed to be falling into ruins. Yet the numerous laws, that were enacted by the Parliaments of Henry VIII. for the paving of ſtreets in various cities and villages, evince how much induſtry had gained ground of idleneſs; how much opulence began to prevail over penury; and how far a deſire of comfort had ſucceeded to the languors of ſloth. Thus much might indeed be diſcovered, from the numerous laws, which were during this period paſſed, for giving a monopoly of manufacture to different towns; and which prove, that a great activity prevailed, by the frequent deſire of ſelfiſh enjoyment, contrary to the real intereſt of the tradeſmen themſelves.

The ſtatute, however, which limited the intereſt of money to 10 *per cent.* demonſtrates, that much *ready money* had not yet been brought into the coffers of lenders; while a greater number of borrowers deſired to augment their wealth, by employing the money of others in the operations of trade. The kings of England, both before and after

after this epoch, borrowed large ſums in Genoa and the Netherlands. A parliamentary debate of the year 1523, exhibits a lively picture of the opinions that were at this time entertained as to *circulation*, which, in modern times, has ſo great an effect on the ſtrength of nations. A ſupply of eight hundred thouſand pounds being aſked by Cardinal Wolſey for the French war, Sir Thomas More, the Speaker of the Commons, endeavoured to convince *the Houſe, That it was not much, on this occaſion, to pay four ſhillings in the pound.* But to this the Commons objected, That though true it was ſome perſons were well monied, yet, in general, the fifth part of men's goods was not in plate or money, but in ſtock or cattle; and that to pay away all their coin would alter the whole intercourſe of things, and there would be a ſtop in all traffick; and conſequently the ſhipping of the kingdom would decay. To this grave objection it was however gravely anſwered, That the money ought not to be accounted as loſt, or taken away, but only as transferred into other hands of their kindred or nation; ſo that no more was about to be done than we ſee ordinarily in markets, where, though the money change maſters, yet every one is accommodated. Nor need you fear this ſcarceneſs of money; the intercourſe of things being ſo eſtabliſhed throughout the world, *that there is a perpetual circulation of all that can be neceſſary to mankind.* Thus your commodities will ever find out money; while our own merchants will

will be as glad of your corn and cattle, as you can be of any thing they can bring you *.

Such is the argument of Sir Thomas More; who has thus left a proof to poſterity of how much he knew, with regard to modern œconomy, without the aid of modern experience. No one at preſent can more clearly explain the marvellous accommodation of money, when quickly paſſed from hand to hand, or the great facility in raiſing public ſupplies, when every one can eaſily convert his property, either fixed or moveable, into the metals, which are the commodious meaſure of all things. And this is *circulation*, of which we ſhall hear ſo much in later times; and which creates ſo momentous a ſtrength, when it exiſts in full vigour; yet leaves, when it diſappears, ſo great a debility.

But the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the reformation of religion, are the meaſures of Henry VIII.'s reign, which were attended with conſequences the moſt happy and the moſt laſting. Fifty thouſand perſons are ſaid to have been maintained in the convents of England and Wales, who were thus forced into the active employments of life. And a hundred and fifty thouſand perſons are equally ſuppoſed to have been reſtrained from marriage †, which can alone produce effective population.

* Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. in Kennet, v. ii. p. 55.

† And. Chron. Com. v. i. p. 368.

While

While the numbers of our people were thus augmented from various ſources, Edward VI. is ſaid to have brought over, in 1549, *many thouſands* of foreign manufacturers, who greatly improved our own fabricks of various kinds. Yet, they were not invited into a country, where the lower orders were even then very free, or very happy. The act * *for the puniſhment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor*, recites, "Foraſmuch as idleneſs "and vagabondrie is the mother of all thefts and "other miſchiefs, and the multitude of people "given thereto has been always here, within this "kingdom, very great, and more in number than "in other regions, to the great impoveriſhment of "the realm." This law therefore enacted, That if any perſon ſhall bring before two juſtices any runagate ſervant, or any other which liveth idly and loiteringly by the ſpace of three days, the ſame juſtices ſhall cauſe the ſaid idle and loitering ſervant or vagabond to be marked on the breaſt with the mark of V by a hot iron, and ſhall adjudge him to be a *ſlave* to the perſon who brought him, and who may cauſe him to work, by beating, chaining, or otherwiſe. The unenlightened makers of this diſgraceful effort of legiſlation became ſoon ſo aſhamed, as to repeal the law, which they ought to have never made. And were it not, that it ſhews the condition of the country, and the modes of thinking of the higher orders, in 1547,

* 1 Edward VI. ch. 3.

it

it might, without much loſs, be expunged from the ſtatute book.

But the legiſlators of this reign were more happy in ſome other of their laws. They reſtored the ſtatute of treaſons of Edward III.; they encouraged the fiſheries to Iceland, to Newfoundland, and to Ireland. They inflicted penalties on the ſellers of victuals, who were not content with reaſonable profit, and on artificers and labourers, conſpiring the time and manner of their work. As "*great inconveniencies, not meet to be rehearſed, had* "*followed of compelled chaſtity*," all poſitive laws againſt the marriage of prieſts were repealed. Manufactures were encouraged, partly by procuring the materials at the cheapeſt rate, but ſtill more by preventing frauds. And agriculture was promoted by means of incloſing, which is ſaid to have given riſe to Ket's rebellion in 1549. This event alone ſufficiently proves, that the people had conſiderably increaſed, but had not yet applied ſteadily to labour.

While the abſurd practice continued, during the reign of Mary, of promoting manufactures by monopoly, inſtead of competition, one law alone appears to have been attended with effects, continual and ſalutary. It is the act * "for the mend-"ing of highways;" being now, ſays the law, "both very noiſome and tedious to travel in, and "dangerous to paſſengers and carriages." The

*2 & 3 Philip and Mary, ch. 8.

firſt

firſt effort of Engliſh legiſlation, on a ſubject ſo much connected with the proſperity of every people, is the act of Edward I. for enlarging the breadth of highways from one market town to another. This law, which was enacted in 1285, was however intended rather to prevent robbery, than to promote facility in travelling. The roads of particular diſtricts were amended by ſeveral laws of Henry VIII. But this of Philip and Mary is the firſt general law, which obliged every pariſh, by four days labour of its people, to repair its own roads. The reign of Charles II. merits the praiſe of having firſt eſtabliſhed turnpikes; whereby thoſe, who enjoy the benefits of eaſy conveyance, contribute the neceſſary expence.

Before the commencement of the celebrated reign of Elizabeth, a conſiderable change had doubtleſs taken place in our policy, and in the numbers of our people. Agriculture, manufactures, fiſheries, commerce, diſtant voyages, had all been begun, and made ſome progreſs, from the ſpirit that had already been incited. And all theſe muſt aſſuredly have flouriſhed, during the domeſtic tranquillity of a ſteady government, through half a century, as well as afterwards, from the example of œconomy and prudence, of activity and vigour, which Elizabeth, on all occaſions, ſet before her ſubjects.

The act of Elizabeth *, containing orders for *artificers, labourers, ſervants of huſbandry, and ap-*

* 5 Eliz. ch. 4.

prentices, merits conſideration; becauſe we may learn from it the ſtate of the country. *Villains*, we ſee, from this enumeration, had ceaſed, before 1562, to be objects of legiſlation. And we may perceive from the recital, "That the wages and "allowances, rated in former ſtatutes, are in divers "places too ſmall, and *not anſwerable to this time*, "reſpecting *the advancement of all things*, belonging "to the ſaid ſervants and labourers,"—a favourable change had taken place in the fortunes of this numerous claſs. This law, particularly where it requires apprenticeſhips, ought to be repealed; becauſe its tendency is to abridge the liberty of the ſubject, and to prevent competition among workmen.

The ſame obſervation may be applied to the act "againſt the erecting of cottages *." If we may credit the aſſertion of the legiſlature, "great "multitudes of cottages were daily more and more "increaſing, in many parts of this realm." This ſtatement evinces an augmentation of people: yet, the execution of ſuch regulations, as this law contains, by no means promotes the uſeful race of huſbandry ſervants.

The principle of the poor laws, which may be ſaid to have originated in this reign, as far as it neceſſarily confines the labourer to the place of his birth, is at once deſtructive of freedom, and of the true intereſts of a manufacturing community, that can alone be effectually promoted by competition;

* 13 Eliz. ch. 7.

which

which hinders the rise of wages among workmen, and promotes at once the goodness and cheapness of the manufacture.

A few salutary laws were doubtless made during the reign of Elizabeth. But her legislation will be found not to merit generally much praise. Her acts for encouraging manufactures by monopoly; for promoting trade by prohibition; and for aiding husbandry, by preventing the export of corn, alone justify this remark. Her regulations, for punishing the frauds, which arise commonly in manufactures when they are encouraged by monopoly, merit commendation.

Having thus shewn the commencement of an increasing population, amidst famines and war, and traced a considerable progress, during ages of healthfulness and quiet, it is now time to ascertain the precise numbers, which probably existed in England, towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

From the documents, which still remain in the *Museum*, it is certainly known, that very accurate accounts were often taken of the people, by the intelligent ministers of that great princess. Harrison, who has transmitted an elaborate description of England, gives us the result of the musters of 1575, when the number of fighting men was found to be — 1,172,674: Adding withal, that it was believed a full third had been omitted. Notwithstanding the greatness of this number, says Mr Hume, the same author *complains much of the decay of populousness*; a vulgar

 complaint

complaint in all ages and places*. Sir Walter Raleigh however asserts, that there was a general review, in 1583, of all the men in England, capable of bearing arms, who were found to amount to — — 1,172,000

Here then are two credible evidences to an important fact: That, in 1575, or 1583, the fighting men of England, according to enumerations, amounted to — — 1,172,000

Which, if multiplied by 4, would prove the men, women, and children to have been — 4,688,000

Without comparing minutely the numbers, which we have already found, in 1377, with the people, who thus plainly existed in 1577, it is apparent, that there had been a vast increase in the intermediate two hundred years. Such then were the

* Hist. vol. v. p. 481. — vi. p. 179. By endeavouring to collect every thing that could throw light on the population of Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Hume has bewildered himself and his reader. Peck has preserved a paper, which, by proving that there were musters in 1575, confirms Harrison's account. [Defid. Curiosa, v. i. p. 74.] It is a known fact, that there was an enumeration of the mariners, in 1582, which corresponds with Raleigh's account. [Campbel's Pol. Survey, v. i. p. 161.] That there were several several surveys then, is a fact incontrovertible; as appears indeed from the Harl. MSS. in Brit. Mus. Nos. 412 and 6,839. The Privy Council having required the Bishops, in July 1563, to certify the number of *families* in their several dioceses, were informed minutely of the particulars of each. Some of the Bishops returns may be seen in MSS. Harl. No. 595. Brit. Mus. From the Bishops certificates, as well as from the 31 Eliz. ch. 7. it appears, that the words *families* and *households* were then used synonymously.

numbers

numbers of the fighting men, and of the inhabitants of England, during the reign of Elizabeth: and ſuch was the power, wherewith that illuſtrious Queen defended the independence of the nation, and ſpread wide its renown *.

But, it is the ardour with which a people are inſpired, more than their numbers, that conſtitutes their real force. It was the enmity wherewith *the armada* had inſpired England againſt Spain, which prompted the Engliſh people, rather than the Engliſh court, to aid the baſtard Don Antonio to conquer Portugal: and *twenty thouſand* volunteers engaged in this romantic enterprize, under thoſe famous leaders Norris and Drake.—An effort, which ſhewed the manners of the age more than its populouſneſs, ended in diſappointment, as

* The particular number of the *communicants* and *recuſants*, in each dioceſe and pariſh of England, was certified to the Privy Council, by the Biſhops, in 1603.—MSS. Harl. Brit. Muſ. No. 280.

And the number of communicants was -	2,057,033
Of recuſants - - - -	8,465
In all -	2,065,498

By the 33d Eliz. chap. 1. all perſons upwards of ſixteen years of age were required to go to church, under the penalty of twenty pounds. If the 2,065,498 contained all the perſons, both male and female, who were thus required to frequent the church, this number would correſpond very well with the fighting men lately ſtated; and ſhew the people of England and Wales to have been between four and five millions, during Elizabeth's reign, though approaching nearer to the laſt number than the firſt.

might have been foreſeen, if enthuſiaſm and reaſon were not always at variance. An alarm being given of an invaſion by the Spaniards, in 1599, the Queen equipped a fleet, and levied an army, in a fortnight, to oppoſe them. Nothing, we are told, gave foreigners a higher idea of the power of England than this ſudden armament. Yet, it is not too much to aſſert, that Lancaſhire alone, conſidering its numerous manufactories and extenſive commerce, is now able to make a more ſteady exertion*, amidſt modern warfare, than the whole kingdom in the time of Elizabeth.

The acceſſion of James I. was an event auſpicious to the proſperity and the populouſneſs of Great Britain. The tranquillity of the Northern counties of England, which it had been the object of ſo many of Elizabeth's laws to ſettle, was

* The traders of Liverpool alone fitted out, at the commencement of the late war with France, between the 26th of Auguſt 1778 and the 17th of April 1779, a hundred and twenty privateers, armed each with ten to thirty guns, but moſtly with fourteen to twenty. From an accurate liſt, containing the name and appointment of each, it appears, that theſe privateers meaſured 30,787 tons, carrying 1,986 guns, and 8,754 men. The fleet ſent againſt the armada, in 1588, meaſured 31,985 tons, and was navigated by 15,272 ſeamen. And, from the efforts of a ſingle town we may infer, that the private ſhips of war formed a greater force, during the war of the Colonies, than the nation, with all its unanimity and zeal, was able to equip under the potent government of Elizabeth. There was an enumeration, in 1581, of the ſhipping and ſailors of England, which amounted to 72,450 tons, and 14,295 mariners. To this ſtatement, Doctor Campbel adds, That the ſeamen of the ſhips regiſtered in the port of London, in 1732, were 21,797. [Pol. Survey, vol. i. p. 161.]

at once reſtored: and the two-and-twenty years of uninterrupted peace, during the preſent reign, muſt have produced the moſt ſalutary effect on the induſtry of the people, though this circumſtance has caſt an unmerited ridicule on the King.

The various laws which were paſſed by this monarch, for ſuppreſſing the frauds of manufacturers, evince at once, that they had increaſed in conſiderable numbers, and muſt have continued to increaſe. The acts for reformation of alehouſes, and repreſſing of drunkenneſs, as they plainly proceeded from the puritaniſm of the times, muſt have promoted ſobriety of manners, and attention to buſineſs. The act for the relief and regulation of perſons infected with the plague muſt have had its effect, in preventing the frequent return of this deſtructive evil. Domeſtic induſtry was doubtleſs promoted by the act againſt monopolies: and foreign commerce was aſſuredly extended by the law, enabling all perſons to trade with Spain, Portugal, and France. But, above all, the agricultural intereſts of the nation were enſured by the act for confirming the poſſeſſion of copyholders; and ſtill more, by the law for the general quiet of the ſubject, againſt all pretences of dormant claims on the lands, which had deſcended from remote anceſtors to the then poſſeſſors. Of this ſalutary law the principle was adopted, and its efficacy enforced, by a legiſlative act of the preſent reign.

A compariſon of the laws, which were enacted by the parliaments of Elizabeth and of James, would leave a decided preference to the parliamentary leaders of the laſt period, both in wiſdom and in patriotiſm. The private acts of parliament, in Elizabeth's time, were made chiefly to *reſtore the blood* of thoſe, who had been attainted by her predeceſſors: the private acts of James were almoſt all made for *naturalizing foreigners*. One of the laſt parliamentary grants of this reign was £.18,000 for the reparation of decaying cities and towns, though it is not now eaſy to tell how the money was actually applied.

Elizabeth had begun the practice of giving bounties to the builders of ſuch ſhips as carried *one hundred* tons. James I. merits the praiſe of giving large ſums for the encouragement of this moſt important manufacture. And while Charles I. patronized every ornamental art, he gave from a very ſcanty revenue a bounty of five ſhillings the ton for every veſſel of the burthen of *two* hundred tons. Theſe notices enable us to trace the ſize of our merchant-ſhips through a very active century of years. The miniſters of Elizabeth had conſidered a veſſel of one hundred tons as ſufficient for the purpoſes of an inconſiderable commerce: the adviſers of Charles I. were not ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a ſize. It was to this wiſe policy, that the trading ſhips of England were employed, ere long, in protecting her rights, and even in extending her glory.

The

The act which, in 1623, reduced the intereſt of money to eight *per cent.* from ten, ſhews ſufficiently, even againſt the preamble, that complains of decline, how much the nation had proſpered, and was then advancing to a higher ſtate of improvement. Such laws can never be ſafely enacted till all parties, the lenders as well as the borrowers, are properly prepared to receive them. The chearfulneſs of honeſt Stowe led him to ſee, and to repreſent, the ſtate of England, during the reign of James, as it really was. He ſays, as Camden had ſaid before him in 1580, that it would in time be incredible, were there not due mention made of it, what great increaſe there is, within theſe few years, of commerce and wealth throughout the kingdom; of the great building of royal and mercantile ſhips; of the repeopling of cities, towns, and villages; beſide the ſudden augmentation of fair and coſtly buildings. The great meaſure of the preſent reign, which was productive of effects, laſting and unhappy, was the ſettlement of colonies beyond the Atlantic.

Lord Clarendon exhibits a picture equally flattering, of the condition of England, during the peaceful years of Charles I. And the repreſentation of this great hiſtorian is altogether conſiſtent with probability and experience. The vigorous ſpirit, which Elizabeth had bequeathed to her people, continued to operate, long after ſhe had ceaſed to delight them by her preſence, or to protect them by her wiſdom. The laws of former legiſlators produced ſucceſſively their tardy effects. And it

ought to be remembered, that neither diſputes among the great, parliamentary altercations, nor even civil conteſts, till they proceed the length of tumult and bloodſhed, ever produce any bad conſequences to the induſtry or comfort of the governed.

The civil wars, which began in 1640, unhappy as they were while they continued, both to king and people, produced in the end the moſt ſalutary influences, by bringing the higher and lower ranks cloſer together, and by continuing in all a vigour of deſign, and activity of practice, that in prior ages had no example.

One of the firſt conſequences of real hoſtilities was the eſtabliſhment of taxes, to which the people had ſeldom contributed, and which produced, before the concluſion of warfare, the enormous ſum of £. 95,512,095 *. The gallant ſupporters of Charles I. gave the ſovereign, whom they loved amidſt his diſtreſſes, large ſums of money, while confiſcations left them any thing to give. Here then, were the mines of Potoſi opened in England. The opulence, which induſtry had been collecting for ages, was now brought into action, by the arts of the tax-gatherer: and the country-gentlemen, who had long complained *of a ſcarcity of money*, contributed greatly, by unlocking their

* Stevens's Hiſt. of Taxes, p. 296. But Stevens includes the ſales of confiſcated lands, compoſitions for eſtates, and ſuch other more oppreſſive modes of raiſing money. There were collected, by *exciſes* only, £. 10,200,000; and by tonage and poundage £. 5,700,000.

coffers,

coffers, to remove the evil, that they had themſelves created by hoarding.

One of the firſt effects of civil commotion was the placing of private money in the ſhops of goldſmiths, for its better ſecurity, and for the advantage of the intereſt, which, at the commencement of banking, was allowed the proprietors. By facilitating the ready transfer of property, and the eaſy payment of private debts, as well as public impoſts, *banking* may be regarded as the fruitful mother of *circulation*. The collecting of taxes, and the ſubſequent expenditure, raiſed ere long the price of all things. Owing to thoſe cauſes chiefly, the legal intereſt of money was reduced, in 1651, to ſix *per cent*. And the reduction of intereſt is at once a proof of previous acquiſition, and a means of future proſperity.

The Reſtoration of Charles II. induced the people to transfer the energy, which they had exerted during twenty years hoſtilities, to the various operations of peace. The ſeveral manufactories, and new productions of huſbandry, that were introduced from foreign countries, before *the Revolution* formed a new epoch, alone evince a vigorous application to the uſeful arts, in the intermediate period. The common highways were enlarged and repaired, while turnpikes were placed on the great Northern road, in the counties of Hertford, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. Rivers were deepened for the purpoſes of internal conveyance by water. The acts of navigation created ſhipcarpenters and ſailors. Foreign trade was increaſed

creaſed by opening new markets, and by withdrawing the alien duties, which had always obſtructed the vent of native manufactures. Thoſe meaſures alone, that at once made internal communications eaſy and ſafe, would have promoted the proſperity and population of any country.

But, above all, the change of manners, and the intermixture of the higher and middle ranks, by marriages, induced the gentry, and even the younger branches of the nobility, to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants, and thereby to enoble a profeſſion, that was before only gainful; to invigorate traffic by their greater capitals, and to extend its operations by their ſuperior knowledge. Hence Child, Petty, and Davenant agreed in aſſerting *, in oppoſition to the party writers of the times, that the commerce and riches of England did never, in any former age, encreaſe ſo faſt as in the buſy period from the Reſtoration to the Revolution.

From the foregoing circumſtances we may infer a conſiderable augmentation of inhabitants, the more important to the ſtate, becauſe they were

* The Board of Trade repreſented in December 1697: "We have made inquiry into the ſtate of trade in general, "from the year 1670 to the preſent time: and from the beſt "calculations we can make, by the duties paid at the Cuſtom-"houſe, we are of opinion, that trade in general did conſi-"derably increaſe, from the end of the Dutch war in 1673, to "1689, when the late war began." Yet, the Board ſeem not to have attended to the 25 Cha. II. ch. 6; which wiſely enacted, That *Denizens* and *Aliens* ſhould pay no more taxes for the *native commodities* of this kingdom, or for *fiſh caught* in *Engliſh* ſhips, when exported, than ſubjects.

the

the moſt induſtrious. But many emigrated, it has been ſaid, to the colonies, and many periſhed by peſtilence. Yet, the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale inſiſts, "That mankind hath ſtill increaſed, even to "manifeſt ſenſe and experience:" and becauſe, ſays he, this is an aſſertion of fact, it is impoſſible to be made out, but by inſtances of fact. If however, he adds, we ſhould inſtitute a compariſon between the preſent time (1670), and the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1558), and compare the number of trained ſoldiers then and now, the number of ſubſidy men then and now, they will eaſily give an account of a very great increaſe of people within this kingdom, even to admiration *.

A mere queſtion of fact, with regard to the number of births at any two diſtant periods, may doubtleſs be either confirmed, or diſproved, by an

* See Lord Hale's convincing argument, in *The Origination of Mankind conſidered*, ch. 10. Sir John Dalrymple found, in King William's cabinet, a minute account of the number of *freeholders* in England, which was taken by order of that monarch, in order to find out the proportion between churchmen, diſſenters, and papiſts; and which Sir John has publiſhed in the Appendix to his Memoirs:

	Conformiſts.	Non Con.	Papiſts.
In Canterbury and York -	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
Contraſt with theſe the before-mentioned communicants and recuſants, in 1603 — —	2,057,033	—	8,465

This compariſon, after allowing for the original inaccuracies of both accounts, ſhews a great change in the numbers, in the opinions, and practice of the people, from 1603 to 1689.

appeal

appeal to the pariſh regiſters; which, containing a collection of facts, may be regarded as one of the beſt proofs, that the nature of the enquiry admits. And the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale remarked of them, becauſe he was ſtruck with the force of their evidence, *That they give a greater demonſtration of the gradual increaſe of mankind, than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute.* For, a greater number of births, in any one period more than in any other, muſt proceed from a greater number of breeders; which evinces a more numerous population. And from an attentive examination of ſuch proofs, Graunt proceeded*, in 1662, to ſhew, with greater ability, the progreſſive increaſe of the people, and to prove how eaſily the country could ſupply the capital with numerous recruits, without any ſenſible diminution.

Having thus traced a gradual progreſs in population, it is now time to aſcertain the preciſe numbers at the Revolution. And Gregory King, who has been praiſed by Davenant for his reſearch and his ſkilfulneſs, has left us documents, from which we may form an eſtimate ſufficiently accurate. From an inſpection of the hearth books, and the

* See The Obſervations on the Bills of Mortality. Doctor Price has quoted Tindal, for the fact, That there appeared, by the hearth books of 1665, in England and Wales,

1,230,000 houſes.

The acknowledged number in 1690 — 1,300,000

This, if we may credit Tindal, is ſufficient evidence of a rapid increaſe in no long period. Graunt calculated the people of England and Wales, in 1662, at 6,440,000 perſons.

aſſeſſments

aſſeſſments on marriages, births, and burials, King formed calculations of the numbers of families, houſes, and people; which, according to Davenant, "were perhaps more to be relied upon, than "any thing that had been ever done of the like "kind."

It had been the faſhion of the preceding age to ſtate the numbers of mankind in every country too high: from this period ingenious men were carried away by a reprehenſible ſelf-ſufficiency to calculate them too low. Of the ſtatements of King, it was remarked by Sir Robert Harley *, in 1697, "Theſe aſſeſſments are no good foundation; heads "at a medium being (according to the computa- "tion) *per* houſe in London only *five:* omiſſions "in the country are probably greater than in Lon- "don, becauſe numbering the people is there more "terrible. The polls are inſtances: families of "ſeven or eight perſons, being not numbered at "above three or four perſons in ſome remote "counties." Yet, by thus calculating $4\frac{1}{13}$, inſtead of 5, in every *family*, which was ſtill conſidered as ſynonymous with *houſehold*, this would demonſtrate an increaſe of a million, during the foregoing century.

Davenant, by publiſhing only extracts from King's obſervations, and by ſpeaking confuſedly of *families* and *houſes*, has done an injury to King, and to truth. All will appear conſiſtent and clear,

* Harl. MSS. in the Muſeum, Nos. 6,837—7,021.

when

when this ingenious calculator is allowed to ſpeak for himſelf.

The number of *houſes* in the kingdom, as charged, ſays he, in the books of the Hearth Office at Lady Day 1690, were, — 1,319,215: But, whereas the chimney money being charged on the tenant, or inhabitant, the divided houſes ſtand as ſo many diſtinct dwellings, in the accounts of the ſaid Hearth Office. And whereas the empty houſes, ſmith's ſhops, &c. are included in the ſaid account, all which may very well amount to 1 in 36 or 37, (or near 3 *per cent.*) which, in the whole, may be about 36,000 houſes; it follows, that the true number of *inhabited houſes* is not above 1,290,000; which, however, we ſhall call, in round numbers, — — 1,300,000

Having thus adjuſted the number of houſes, we come now, continues he, to apportion the number of ſouls to each, according to what we have obſerved from the ſaid aſſeſſments on marriages, births, and burials.

London

London within the walls produced almoſt - - - - $5\frac{1}{2}$ *per* houſe.
Sixteen pariſhes without, full - $4\frac{1}{2}$
The reſt of the bills of mortality almoſt - - - - $4\frac{1}{2}$
The other cities and market towns $4\frac{1}{3}$
The villages and hamlets - 4

	Inhabited houſes.	*per* houſe.	Souls.
So, London and the bills of mortality contained - -	105,000	at 4,57	479,600
The cities and market towns	195,000	4,3	838,500
The villages and hamlets -	1,000,000	4	4,000,000
In all -	1,300,000	4,9	5,318,100

But, conſidering that the omiſſions in the ſaid aſſeſſments may well be,

In London and the bills of mortality - - - - -	10 *per cent.*	or 47,960 ſouls
In the cities and market towns -	2 *per cent.*	or 16,500
In the villages and hamlets - -	1 *per cent.*	or 40,000
In all - - - - -		104,460 ſouls:

It

It follows, that the true number of people, dwelling in the 1,300,000 *inhabited houſes*, ſhould be - - - - 5,422,560.

Laſtly; whereas the number of tranſitory people, as ſeamen and ſoldiers, may be accounted 140,000; whereof nearly one half, or 60,000, have no place in the ſaid aſſeſſments: and that the number of vagrants, as hawkers, pedlars, crate carriers, gipſies, thieves, and beggars, may be reckoned 30,000; whereof above one half, or 20,000, may not be taken notice of in the ſaid aſſeſſments, making in all 80,000 perſons: It follows, that the whole number of people in England and Wales is much about 5,500,000, viz.

In London - - -	530,000 ſouls
In the other cities and towns -	870,000
In the villages and hamlets -	4,100,000
In all - - -	5,500,000

The number of inhabited *houſes* being about - -	1,300,000
The number of *families* about	1,360,000

The people anſwer at $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per* houſe, and 4 *per* family.

Thus much from Gregory King's Political Obſervations *. And his ſtatements are doubtleſs very curious, and even exact, though we now know,

* There is a very fair copy of King's Obſervations, in MSS. Harl. Brit. Muſ. No. 1,898.

that

that the number of dwellers, which he allowed to every houſe, and to every family, was a good deal under the truth, as Sir Robert Harley at the time ſuſpected.

Subſequent inquirers have enumerated the houſes and the inhabitants of various villages, towns, and cities, inſtead of relying on the defective returns of tax-gatherers. Doctor Price is now diſpoſed to admit, from the enumerations which he had ſeen, that *five* perſons and a ſixth, reſide in every houſe*. Mr. Howlet, from a ſtill greater number of enumerations, inſiſts † for five and two-fifths. It will at laſt be found, perhaps ‡, that five and two-fifths are the

* Reverſionary Payments, v. ii. p. 288.

† Examination of Price, p. 145.

‡ In 1773, Dr. Price inſiſted, that there were *not quite five in every houſe*. [Obſervations on Reverſionary Payments, 3d edition, p. 184.] In 1783, the Doctor ſeemed willing to allow five one-ſixth in every houſe: But he ſtill contends, That if you throw out of the calculation Liverpool, Mancheſter, Birmingham, and other populous towns, the number in every houſe *ought to be leſs than five*. [Obſervations on Reverſionary Payments, 4th edit. v. ii. p. 288—9.] The Rev. Mr. New made a very accurate enumeration of the pariſh of St. Philip and St. Jacob in the city of Briſtol, during the year 1781, and found 1,529 inhabited houſes, and therein 9,850 ſouls. Theſe numbers prove, that more than ſix one-third dwell in every houſe. And from this enumeration we may infer, That in the full inhabited city of Briſtol, ſix at leaſt reſide in every houſe. If, in the ſpirit of Doctor Price, we throw out of the calculation all populous places, and ſtudiouſly collect ſuch decaying towns as Sandwich, the proportion to every houſe muſt be limited to *five*.

ſmalleſt number, which, on an average of the whole kingdom, dwells in every houſe.

Little doubt can ſurely now remain of there having been in England and Wales 1,300,000 inhabited houſes at the Revolution. Were we to multiply this number by *five*, it would demonſtrate a population of ſix millions and a half: were we to multiply by five and two-fifths, or even by five and one-fifth, this operation would carry the number up nearly to ſeven millions: and ſeven millions were conſidered, by ſome of the moſt intelligent men of that day, as the people of this kingdom at the Revolution.

But, if we take the loweſt number, of ſix millions and a half, and compare it with five millions, the higheſt number aſſuredly in 1588, this compariſon would evince an increaſe of a million and a half in the ſubſequent century, and nearly four millions and a half from 1377. Yet, Doctor Price regards the epoch of the *Reformation* (1517) as a period of greater population than the preſent.

In giving an account of the reign of King William, Sir John Dalrymple remarks, That *three and twenty regiments were compleated in ſix weeks*. This is doubtleſs an adequate proof of the ardour of the times, but it is a very ſlight evidence of an overflowing populouſneſs. Want of employment often ſends recruits to an army, which, in more induſtrious years, would languiſh without hope of reinforcements. We may learn, indeed, from Sir Joſiah Child, That it was a queſtion agitated, dur-

ing

ing the reign of Charles II. "If we have more "people now than in former ages, how came it to "paſs, that in the times of Henry IV. and V. and "even in prior times, we could raiſe ſuch great ar- "mies, and employ them in foreign wars, and "yet retain a ſufficient number to defend the "kingdom, and to cultivate our lands at home? "I anſwer firſt," ſays this judicious writer, "that "bigneſs of armies is not a certain indication of "the numerouſneſs of a nation, but ſometimes of "the government and diſtribution of the lands; "where the prince and lords are owners of the "whole territory: although the people be thin, "the armies upon occaſion may be very great, as "in Fez and Morocco. Secondly, princes ar- "mies in Europe are become more proportion- "able to their purſes, than to the numbers of their "people.

Thus much it was thought proper to premiſe, with regard to the previous condition and policy of England, as well as its anterior populouſneſs to *The Revolution*, when THIS ESTIMATE begins.

THEORISTS are not agreed, in reſpect to thoſe circumſtances, which form the ſtrength of nations, either actual or comparative. One conſiders the power of a people "to conſiſt in their numbers and wealth." Another inſiſts, "that the force of every community moſt eſſentially depends

on the capacity, valour, and union of the leading characters of the ſtate." And a third, adopting partly the ſentiments of both, contends, "that though numbers and riches are highly important, and the reſources of war may decide a conteſt where other advantages are equal; yet the reſources of war, in hands that cannot employ them, are of little avail, ſince manners are as eſſential as either people or wealth."

It is not the purpoſe of this Eſtimate to amuſe the fancy with uninſtructive definitions, or to bewilder the judgment with verbal diſputations, as unmeaning as they are unprofitable. The glories of the war of 1755 have caſt a continued ridicule on the far-famed *Eſtimator of the manners and principles of the times*. Recent ſtruggles have thrown equal ridicule on other calculators of an analogous ſpirit. And we may find reaſon in the end to conclude, that the qualities of the mind, either vigorous or effeminate, have undergone no unhappy change, whatever alteration there certainly is in the labour of the hands of our people, from the epoch of the Revolution to the preſent moment.

But from general remark, let us deſcend to minute inveſtigations, with regard to the progreſſive numbers of the people, to the extent of their induſtry, and to the ſucceſſive amount of their traffic and accumulations; becauſe our reſources aroſe then, as they ariſe now, *from the land and labour of this iſland alone*.

The

The inſult offered by France to the ſovereignty of England, by giving an aſylum to an abdicated monarch, and by diſputing the right of a high-minded people to regulate their own affairs, forced King William into an eight years war with that potent country, which he perſonally hated, and with which he ardently wiſhed to quarrel. He had therefore no inclination to weigh in very ſcrupulous ſcales the wealth of his ſubjects againſt the greater opulence of their rivals, who were in thoſe days more induſtrious, and were further advanced in the practice of manufacture, and knowledge of traffic. Yet the deſire of that warlike monarch being ſeconded by the zeal of a people, whoſe reſources were not then equal to their bravery, he was enabled to engage in an arduous diſpute for the moſt honourable end. Happy! had hoſtilities ended, as ſoon as the independence of the nation was vindicated from inſult.

We may form a ſufficient judgment of the ſtrength of England at that æra from the following detail:

The number of *fighting men*, according to the calculation of Gregory King, as cited with approbation by Davenant, was 1,308,000; yet the one fourth of the people formed the men fit for war, whatever may have been the real population of England, during the reign of King William.

The yearly income of the nation from its land and labour amounted, if we may credit the ſtatement of King, to - - -	£.43,500,000
The yearly expence of the people for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence - -	41,700,000
The yearly accumulation of profit	£. 1,800,000

The value of the whole kingdom, according to King, £.650,000,000*; which, forming the capital whence income aroſe, was no proper fund for taxation.

Davenant ſtates, from various *conjectures* and *calculations*, the circulating money at £.18,500,000 †, while there yet exiſted in the nation no paper-money, and little circulation; which, by facilitating the eaſy transfer of property, is ſo favourable to the levying of taxes.

* See King's Polit. Obſerv. in MSS. Harl. Brit. Muſ. No. 1,898.

† Gregory King having ſtated the ſilver coin at eight million and a half in 1688, and the gold coin at three million, Sir Robert Harley thereupon remarked, "That the mint accounts would make us believe there is more gold coin than three million; but both accounts together would make a good eſtimate."—MSS. Harl. Brit. Muſ. 1,898. The circulating *coin* may therefore be taken at eleven million and a half during King William's reign. It is one of the tenets of Doctor Price, to maintain, that we had more coins in circulation, during thoſe times than at preſent.

King

King James's annual income amounted only to £.2,061,856. 7s. 9 ½d.*; which is a greater revenue than any of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed.

Of this there remained in the exchequer, on the 5th of November, 1688, £.80,138 †; which little enabled King William either to defray the expences of the Revolution, or to prepare for war.

The nett income paid into the exchequer, in 1691, from the cuſtoms and exciſe, from the land, and from polls, amounted only to £.4,249,757; of which there were applied towards carrying on the war £.3,393,634, and to the ſupport of the government £.856,123 ‡.

The average of the annual ſupplies, during the war, which were raiſed with difficulty from a diſſatisfied people, amounted only to £.5,105,505 §; whence we may form an opinion of the force which could then be exerted, though it muſt be admitted, that the ſame nominal ſum had in thoſe days a greater power.

* Hiſt. of Debts, p. 6—7.

† For the accurate informations, which theſe ſheets convey from a tranſcript of the Exchequer-books in King William and Queen Anne's reigns, the public owe an additional obligation, and the compiler a kindneſs, to the liberal communication of Mr. Aſtle.

‡ Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript. § Id.

There were borrowed by the government, at an intereſt of ſeven and eight *per cent.* while the legal intereſt of money was only ſix, from the 5th of November, 1688, to Lady-day, 1702 - - - - £.44,100,795;
Of which there were mean while repaid - - - - 34,034,018;
Of this debt there remained due at Lady-day, 1702 * - - - £.10,066,777

So unfruitful had each branch of taxes proved, during every year of the war, that the revenue, which had exiſted before it began, fell above one half in five years †; and the deficiencies appeared to have ſwelled, before the ſeſſion of 1696, to the then enormous ſum of £.6,000,460; which greatly enfeebled every exertion of the government, by the advance in the price of all things. The annual collection of taxes, to the amount of two million and a half, more than had been levied on the country in preceding times, while their foreign trade was cut off, was alone ſufficient to embarraſs a people of greater powers of induſtry and circulation. It is an inſtructive fact, which is tranſmitted by Davenant, that impoſts did not then enhance the price of the commodity to the conſumer, when in its higheſt

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript. † Davenant's Eſſay on Ways and Means

ſtate

ſtate of improvement, but fell on the grower, who ſold the article in its rudeſt condition: the exciſe did not raiſe the price of malt, but lowered the price of barley. And this evinces how much conſumption was embarraſſed, and circulation obſtructed, during the diſtreſſes of the Revolution war.

The annual value of the ſurplus produce of the land and labour of England, which was then exported to foreign countries, amounted only to £.4,086,087. Had the coins of England been as numerous as Davenant ſuppoſes them, they could not long have carried on a war beyond the limits of the empire. And the cargoes, which were thus ſent abroad, could not, from their inconſiderableneſs, have filled a mighty void for any length of years.

The tonnage of Engliſh ſhipping, which were annually employed for the exportation of the before-mentioned cargoes, amounted only to 190,533 tons; which, if we allow them to have been navigated at the rate of twelve mariners to every two hundred tons, required only 11,432 ſailors; yet this was the principal nurſery, whence the navy of England could alone be manned, during the wars of King William.

The following ſtatement will give us ideas ſufficiently accurate of the progreſſive force of the royal fleet;

	Tons.	Sailors.
Which in 1660 carried	62,594	—
In 1675	69,681	30,951
In 1688	101,032	—
In 1695	112,400	45,000

Such, then, was the naval force that, during the hoſtilities of William, could be ſent into the line againſt the potent navy of France, which, in one buſy reign, had been created, and raiſed to greatneſs. It was found almoſt impoſſible to man the fleet, though the admiralty were empowered by Parliament to lay ſtrict embargoes on the merchants ſhips *. And this alone ought to give us a leſſon of what importance it is to the ſtate to augment the native race of carpenters and ſailors by every poſſible means.

The

* Sir J. Dalrymple has publiſhed a paper [Appendix, p. 242.] in order to juſtify King William from the charge—"of not exerting the natural ſtrength of England in a ſea-war againſt France, after the battle of La Hogue;" which proves, that his miniſters thought it impoſſible to increaſe the fleet;—"as not having ſhips enough, nor men, unleſs we ſtop even the craft-trade." There are a variety of documents in the Plantation-office, which demonſtrate the ſame poſition. And ſee the following comparative view of the fleets of France and England in 1693.

The

The great debility of England, during the war of the Revolution, aroſe from the practice of hoarding in times of diſtruſt, which prevented circulation; from the diſorders of the coin, that only augmented the former evil, while the government iſſued tallies of wood for the ſupplying of ſpecie; from the inability of the people to pay taxes, while they could find no circulating value, either for their labour or property: add to theſe, the turbulence of the lower orders, and the treachery of the great. And above all, if we may believe the miniſters of William *, *Nobody knew one day what a Houſe of Commons would do the next.*

It is now time to enquire into the loſſes of our trade, during that diſtreſsful war. A more con-

The following "Compariſon of the French and Engliſh fleets in 1693, formed from liſts brought into the Houſe of Commons by Secretary Trenchard," will ſhew how nearly equal they were in force, even ſubſequent to the victory of La Hogue in the preceding year. [Bibl. Harley, Brit. Muſeum, No. 1,898.]

	French Fleet.			Engliſh Fleet.			Difference.	
Ships from	At Breſt.	At Toulon.	Total.	In being.	Building.	Total.	More.	Leſs.
40 to 50 guns	3	5	8.	31	0	31.	23	0.
50 to 60	10	4	14.	7	1	8.	0	6.
60 to 70	23	9	32.	14	3	17.	0	15.
70 to 80	13	3	16.	23	2	25.	9	0.
80 to 90	7	1	8.	8	6	14.	6	0.
90 to 100	6	4	10.	11	0	11.	1	0.
100 to 108	6	1	7.	5	0	5.	0	2.
	68	27	95.	99	12	111.	39	23.

* Dal. Mem. Appendix, p. 240.

firmed

firmed commerce could not have ſtood ſo rude a ſhock as our manufactures and commerce received, from the imbecility of friends, no leſs than from the vigour of foes, amidſt a diſaſtrous courſe of hoſtilities of eight years continuance. And the clamours, which were in the end raiſed againſt the managers of the marine, were aſſuredly founded in prodigious loſſes. An examination of the following proofs will evince this melancholy truth:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of their cargoes.
Years.	To the Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	£.
1688 —	190,533 —	95,267 —	285,800 —	4,086,087
1696 —	91,767 —	83,024 —	174,791 —	2,729,520
Annual loſs	98,766 —	12,243 —	111,009 £.	1,356,567

The nett revenue of the poſts in — 1688 £. 76,318
D° — — 1697 58,672*

Dr. Davenant took a different way to go to the ſame point, becauſe he had not acceſs to a better. Having ſtated the yearly amount of the cuſtoms, from 1688 to 1695 incluſive, he inferred from the annual defalcations: "So that it appears ſuffi-"ciently, that in general, ſince this war, our trade "is very much diminiſhed, as by a medium of "ſeven years the cuſtoms are leſſened about "£. 138,707. 7 s. a year." Dr. Davenant juſtly complained of the breaches of the Act of Navigation, "during the ſlack adminiſtration of this "war;" ſo that ſtrangers ſeem to have beaten us

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript.

out

out of our own ports. For it was obſerved, that there were, in the port of London,

	Tons Engliſh.	Do. foreign.	Total.
During the year 1695*	— 65,788	— 83,238	— 149,026

It would be injurious to conceal, that the ſame able author, who ſeems, however, to have ſometimes complained without a cauſe, acknowledged, "That perhaps no care nor wiſdom in the world "could have fully protected our trade during this "laſt war with France."

An attentive examination of the numbers of our ſhips cleared outwards, and of the cargoes exported in them, will convince every candid mind, that in every war there is a point of depreſſion in trade, as there is in all things, beyond which it does not decline; and from which it gradually riſes beyond

* If with the year mentioned by Davenant, we contraſt the following years, we ſhall ſee an aſtoniſhing increaſe of the navigation and commerce of London. Thus, there were entered in this great port,

	Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.
In 1710	— 70,915	— 40,280	— 110,195
19	— 187,122	— 11,468	— 198,590
58	— 125,086	— 69,060	— 194,146
82	— 210,656	— 125,248	— 335,904
83	— 277,797	— 169,170	— 446,967
84	— 372,775	— 92,043	— 464,818

the

the extent of its former greatneſs, unleſs it meets with additional checks. And the year 1694* marked, probably, the loweſt ſtate to which the

* The following detail, from the Plantation-office, will give the reader a ſtill clearer view of the navigation of England, during the embarraſſments of the Revolution war.

		Ships cleared outwards.			Ships entered inwards.		
		Tons Engliſh.	Do foreign.	Total.	Tons Engliſh.	Do foreign.	Total.
1693	London,	44,912	59,750	104,662	36,512	80,875	117,387
	Outports,	73,176	28,752	101,928	32,616	27,876	60,492
	Total,	118,088	88,502	206,590	69,128	108,751	177,879
	Balance of Trade,			57,260		Balance of Trade,	28,611
				20,040			206,590
1694	London,	39,648	41,500	81,148	59,472	76,500	135,972
	Outports,	33,408	28,224	61,632	35,158	28,910	64,068
	Total,	73,056	69,724	142,780	94,630	105,410	200,040
	Balance of Trade,			57,260			
				20,040			

Of the foregoing detail it ought to be obſerved, that it does not appear in the Plantation-office altogether in this form: the number of ſhips, Engliſh and foreign, entered either in London or the outports, is only ſpecified, and the average tonnage of each thus particularly given: the Engliſh ſhips in the port of London were eſtimated at 112 tons each; the foreign at 125 tons each: the Engliſh ſhips at the outports at 72 each; the foreign at 98 tons each. Whence the editor was enabled, by an eaſy calculation, to lay before the public a more preciſe account of the commerce of England, during the war of the Revolution, than has yet been done.

hoſtilities of William beat down the national traffic. But the commerce of England, ſuſtained by immenſe capitals, and inſpired by a happy ſkill and diligence, may be aptly compared to a ſpring of mighty powers, which always exerts its force in proportion to the weight of its compreſſion; and which never fails to rebound with augmented energy, when the preſſure is removed by the return of peace. It is nevertheleſs a fact equally true, that however the ceſſation of war may give freſh ardour to our induſtrious claſſes at home, and enable our merchants to export cargoes of unexampled extent; yet, there are never wanting writers, who, during this proſperous moment, complain of the decline of our manufactories, and the ruin of our trade. It is propoſed to illuſtrate both theſe facts, in the following ſheets; becauſe, from the illuſtration we may derive both intelligence and amuſement.

Let us then attend to the following proofs:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes exported.
	Tons Eng.	Do foreign.	Total.	£.
Peace of Ryſwick, 1697	144,264	100,524	244,788	3,525,907
1699, 1700, 1701	293,703	43,625	337,328	6,709,881

In addition to this ſatisfactory detail, let us conſider the revenue of the poſt-office, which, ſhewing the extent of correſpondence at different periods,

riods, furniſhes no bad proof of the progreſs of commerce. The nett income of the poſts, according to an average of the eight years of King William's wars - - - - - £. 67,222
D° of the four years of ſubſequent peace - - - - - 82,319*

Yet, amidſt all this proſperity, Polexfen, one of the Board of Trade, publiſhed *a diſcourſe* †, in 1697, in order to ſhew, "That, ſo great had been the loſſes of a ſeven years war, if a great ſtock be abſolutely neceſſary to carry on a great trade, we may reaſonably conclude the ſtock of this nation is ſo diminiſhed, it will fall ſhort; and that, without prudence and induſtry, we ſhall rather conſume what is left, than recover what we have loſt." Davenant, the antagoniſt of Polexfen, ſtunned every coffee-houſe at the ſame time with his declamations on the decay of commerce. "It will be a great matter for "the preſent," ſays he ‡, "if we can recover the "ground our trade has loſt during the laſt war." But we have ſeen, that we had already gained *ſuperior ground* at the preciſe moment wherein he, in this manner, lamented our recent loſſes both of ſhipping and trade. So different are the deductions of theory from the informations of experience, that temporary interruptions are conſtantly

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript. † Diſcourſe on *Trade, Coin*, and *Paper Credit*. ‡ Diſcourſe on Trade, 1698.

miſtaken

miſtaken for ſymptoms of habitual decline. And our commercial writers, owing to this cauſe, are full of well-meaning falſehood, while they ſometimes propagate purpoſed deception.

The Revolution may juſtly be regarded as an event in our annals, the moſt memorable and intereſting; becauſe its effects have been the happieſt, in reſpect to the ſecurity, the comfort, and proſperity of the people. Yet, it has for ſome years been inſiſted, with a plauſibility, which precludes the charge of intended paradox, that every cauſe of depopulation—*a devouring capital, the waſte of wars, the drain of ſtanding armies, emigrations to the colonies, the engroſſing of farms, the incloſing of commons, the high price of proviſions*, and *unbounded luxury*—all have concurred, ſince that fortunate æra, to diſpeople the nation; the numbers of which, it is pretended, have decreaſed a million and a half, and ſtill continue to decreaſe.

In oppoſition to ſuch controvertiſts it is not ſufficient to argue, That, having traced a gradual advance in population, during ſix centuries of political diſtraction and domeſtic miſery, and proved an addition of almoſt five millions to the original ſtock, in 1066, notwithſtanding waſteful wars, deſolating famines, and habitual debility; we ought thence to infer, that the poſition of a *decreaſing populouſneſs*, during a period the moſt free, and proſperous, and happy, can alone be maintained, by the deciſive proof of enumerations, or at leaſt, by a mode of induction equal to them in

the weight of its inference. It is propoſed, then, to continue a brief review of the principal occurrences in our hiſtory, ſince the year 1688, that could have either carried on the former progreſs of our population, or have promoted a gradual decline.

The Revolution did not indeed produce ſo much any alteration in the forms of the conſtitution, as it changed the maxims of adminiſtration; which have every where ſo great an influence on the condition of the governed. Yet, from thence a new æra is ſaid* to have commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and underſtood, and the rights of the ſubject more explicitly guarded by legal proviſions, than in any other period of the Engliſh hiſtory. One article alone, in the Declaration of Rights, was worth, on account of the conſolation which it adminiſtered to the lower orders, the whole expence of the enſuing war: "That exceſſive bail ſhall not be required, or exceſſive fines be impoſed, or cruel and unuſual puniſhments be inflicted." Philoſophers have juſtly remarked, that ſeverity of chaſtiſement has as natural a tendency to debaſe mankind, as mildneſs to elevate them. It was not ſo much from the declaration, *that the levying money without conſent of Parliament is unlawful*, that private

* Blackſt. Com. vol. i. p. 213.

property

property was ſecured, as from the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, which has regularly flowed from the independence of the Judges. Anderſon * did not forget to give "a brief view of the eſtabliſhment of that free conſtitution, as it did certainly contribute greatly, in its conſequences, to the advancement of our induſtry, manufactures, commerce, and ſhipping, as well as of our riches and people, notwithſtanding ſeveral expenſive and bloody wars."

The hearth-money was ſoon after taken away; "being a great oppreſſion (ſay the Parliament) of the poorer ſort, and a badge of ſlavery upon the whole." During the ſame ſeſſion, the firſt bounty was given on the exportation of corn: "How much," ſays that laborious writer, "this bounty has contributed to the improvement of huſbandry, is too obvious to be diſputed:" and accordingly, the year 1699 has been noticed as the epoch of the laſt great dearth of corn in England. A flouriſhing agriculture muſt have neceſſarily promoted populouſneſs in two reſpects; by offering encouragement to labour; by furniſhing a ſupply of proviſions at once conſtant and cheap, which were both extremely irregular in former times. The act of toleration, which was at the ſame time paſſed, by "giving eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences," tended to promote our induſtry and traffic, and conſequently the progreſs of popula-

* Chron. Acc. of Com. vol. ii. p. 189—95.

tion: for, we may learn of Sir Joſiah Child how many people had been driven out of England, from the riſe of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, to the bleſſed æra of toleration.

On the other hand, it has been already ſhewn how much the eight-years war, which grew out of the Revolution, diſtreſſed the foreign trade of England. As King William employed chiefly the troops of other nations; as the profligate and the idle principally recruited the army; as humanity now ſoftened the rigours of war; it may be juſtly doubted, if we loſt a greater number by the miſeries of the camp, than were acquired by the arrival of refugees, who ſought ſecurity in England. And of this opinion was Doctor Davenant*, who was no unconcerned ſpectator of thoſe eventful times. Yet, it is a known fact, that the taxes, which were ſucceſſively impoſed, did not produce in proportion to their augmentations. And if we attribute this unfavourable circumſtance to the inability and preſſures of the people, more than to the novelty of contributions, to the enmity of many againſt the new government, and to the diſorders of the coin, we ought undoubtedly to infer, that the impoſition of additional burdens neceſſarily ſtopped the progreſs of numbers.

Nevertheleſs, internal traffic flouriſhed in the mean time. In 1689, the manufactures of cop-

* Vol. iii. p. 369.

per

per and braſs were revived, rather than introduced. The Sword-blade company, which ſettled in Yorkſhire, "brought* over foreign workmen," The French refugees improved the fabrics of paper and of ſilk, eſpecially the luteſtrings and alamodes; which were ſo much encouraged by Parliament, that the weavers, being greatly increaſed in numbers, as well as in inſolence, before the year 1697, raiſed a tumult in London againſt the wearers of Eaſt India manufactures †. The eſtabliſhment of the Bank of England in 1694, by facilitating public and private circulation, produced all the ſalutary effects, that were originally foretold, becauſe it has been conſtantly managed with a prudence, integrity, and caution beyond example. By giving encouragement to fiſheries, in 1695, a hardy race muſt have been greatly multiplied; and by encouraging, in 1696, the making of linens, ſubſiſtence was given to the young and the old.

The concluſion of every lengthened war deprives many men of ſupport, who are therefore obliged to re-enter once more into the competitions of the world. Yet, Doctor Davenant ‡ aſſured the Marquis of Normanby, in 1699, "that we really want people and hands to carry on the woollen and linen manufactories together." Admitting the

* And. Chron. Acc. of Com. vol. ii. p. 192.

† Id. p. 220. ‡ Eſſay on Eaſt India Trade, p. 46.

truth of an aſſertion, of which indeed there is no reaſon to doubt, the obſervation is altogether conſiſtent with facts and with principles. In leſs than two years from the peace of Ryſwick, the diſbanded idlers had been all engaged in the manufactories, which we have ſeen eſtabliſhed, and in the foreign traffic, that has been ſhewn to have flouriſhed ſo greatly from this epoch to the demiſe of King William. Now, what does the poſition of Davenant prove, more than that uncommon demand never fails to produce remarkable ſcarcity, till a ſufficient ſupply has been found? And Sir Joſiah Child was therefore induced, a hundred years ago, to lay it down as a maxim; *Such as our employment is for people, ſo many will our people be.* Were we now to compare the circumſtance mentioned by Sir John Dalrymple, of the raiſing of three-and-twenty regiments in ſix weeks, during the year 1689, with the fact ſtated by Doctor Davenant, "of the ſcarcity of hands" in 1699, we ought to infer, that an alteration of manners, owing to whatever cauſe, had in the mean time taken place; and that the lower orders of men had learned from experience, to prefer the gainful employments of peace to the leſs profitable and more dangerous adventures of war.

Yet, admitting that the *moral cauſes* beforementioned had naturally produced an augmentation of numbers, during the reign of William, we ought here to remark, that the people who chiefly ſhared

ſhared in the felicities, or were incommoded by the factions of thoſe times, muſt have drawn their firſt breath prior to the Revolution: the middle-aged, and the old, who enacted the laws, and as miniſters or magiſtrates carried them into execution, muſt have been born, during the diſtractions of the civil wars, or amid the conteſts of the adminiſtration of Charles I.: and the gallant youth, who fought by the ſide of that warlike monarch, muſt have firſt ſeen the light ſoon after the Reſtoration.

But, it ought here to be ſtated, as a circumſtance, which may be ſuppoſed to have checked the progreſs of population, that there had been actually raiſed, though with ſome difficulty, on nearly ſeven millions of people, in thirteen years * - - £. 58,698,688: 19s. 8d.:

If we average this ſum by the number of years, we ſhall gain a pretty exact idea of King William's annual income - - £. 4,415,360:
And if from this we deduct King James's revenue - - - 2,061,856;

The balance, of - - - - 2,453,504,
will ſhew how much more the people were burdened in the latter, than in the former reign.

It has nevertheleſs been ſhewn, that manufac-

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript.

tures flouriſhed in the mean time; that there was a great demand for labour; that the foreign traffic and navigation of England doubled, from the peace of Ryſwick to the acceſſion of Queen Anne. For, the re-coinage of the ſilver mean time produced an exhilarating effect on induſtry, in the ſame proportion as the debaſement of the current coin is always diſadvantageous to the lower orders, and diſhonourable to the ſtate. The revival of public credit, after the peace of Ryſwick, and the riſing of the notes of the Bank of England to par, ſtrengthened private confidence, at the ſame time that theſe cauſes invigorated our manufactures and our trade. And the ſpirit of population was ſtill more animated by the many acts of naturalization, which were readily paſſed, during every ſeſſion, in the reign of William; and which clearly evince, how many induſtrious foreigners found ſhelter in England, from the perſecution of countries, leſs tolerant and free.

A NEW war, ſtill more bloody and glorious than the former, enſued on the acceſſion of Queen Anne. All Europe either hated the imperiouſneſs, or dreaded at length the power, of Lewis XIV. But it was his "owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales to be king of England, Scotland, and

and Ireland," which was the avowed cauſe of the hoſtilities of Great-Britain againſt France; though private motives have generally more influence than public pretences. When her treaſurer ſat down to calculate the coſt, he found reſources in his own prudence. Her general ſaw armies and alliances riſe out of his own genius for war and negotiation. And both eſtimated right, ſince a favourable change had gradually taken place in the ſpirit, as well as in the abilities of the people.

If we inquire more minutely into the national ſtrength, we ſhall find, that England and Wales now contained about - - 1,700,000 fighting men.
The union with Scotland added to theſe about - 325,000
So the united kingdom contained - - - 2,025,000

But troops, without funds to carry them to war, with all that ſoldiers require, are of little avail. And happy is it for this nation, at leaſt, that there is a ſucceſſive riſe in the accumulations of our wealth, in the ſame manner as we have already ſeen a continual progreſs in our population; owing to the various means, which individuals conſtantly uſe, to meliorate their own condition. There can be little doubt then, though Gregory King ſuppoſed the contrary, that the productive capital and annual gains of the people were greater at the acceſſion of Anne, than they had been during

during the preceding reign*, or in any former period.

Godolphin and Marlborough had not to contend with the embarraſſments of their predeceſſors. The diſorders of the coin, which had ſo enfeebled the late adminiſtration, had been perfectly cured by a re-coinage. The high intereſt, which had been given, and the ſtill higher profit, that was made, by purchaſing government-ſecurities, had drawn meanwhile much of the hoarded caſh within the circle of commerce. No leſs than £. 3,400,000 of hammered money, which had been equally locked up, were brought into action, according to Davenant, by the act for ſuppreſſing it, in 1697. The Bank of England now lent its aid, by facilitating loans, and circulating exchequer bills. And the public debts and additional taxes filled circulation at preſent, and gave it activity; as they had equally produced ſimilar effects, when the Long Parliament opened the coffers of England. Owing to all theſe cauſes, the ſtateſmen of the reign of Anne bor-

* After ſo expenſive a war juſt ended, ſays Anderſon, it gave foreigners a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of England, to ſee *two millions ſterling* ſubſcribed for in *three* days, (by the new Eaſt-India Company in 1698) and there were perſons ready to ſubſcribe as much more: For, although ſince that time higher proofs have appeared of the great riches of this nation, becauſe our wealth is very viſibly increaſed; yet, till then, there had never been ſo illuſtrious an inſtance of England's opulence. [Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 223.]

rowed

rowed money at five per cent. in 1702, and never gave more than ſix during the war; which alone ſhews how the condition of this country had happily changed, from the time that ſeven and eight per cent. were paid, only a few years before.

The taxes yielded nett into the exchequer, during the year 1701		£. 3,769,375.
Of this inconſiderable revenue the current ſervices for the navy abſorbed —	£. 1,046,397	
the land ſervice —	425,998	
the ordnance —	49,940	
the civil liſt —	704,339	
	2,226,674	
There were applied to the payment of the principal and intereſt of debts	1,411,912	
		3,638,586
Balance remaining unapplied —		130,789
		* £. 3,769,375.

The nett ſums paid into the exchequer during the year 1703, from the cuſtoms, exciſe, poſt-office, land, and miſcellaneous duties - £. 5,561,944:

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript.

Of

Of this ſum there were iſſued for carrying on the war -	£. 3,666,430
For paying the civil liſt	589,981
the intereſt of loans	430,307
Balance remaining for the payment of loans, and other ſervices -	875,126
	* £. 5,561,944

The taxes, which were annually levied on the people, during the preſent reign, may be calculated from the nett ſums paid into the exchequer in the years 1707—8—9—10, amounting yearly to £. 5,272,758. This gives us an idea ſufficiently preciſe of the pecuniary powers, which could then be exerted by Britain. But the military operations of the government were more extenſive than the annual ſupplies of the parliament. So that before Chriſtmas 1711, unfunded debts were contracted to the amount of £. 9,471,325. This ſum was then too large, as it is ſaid, to be borrowed at any rate. The public creditors agreed to convert their claims into a capital, at a ſpecified intereſt, with charges of management. And here is the origin of the South Sea Company and South Sea Stock.

The ſupplies granted, during the preſent reign, amounted to - - £. 69,815,457. 11s. 3½d.

The expences of the war, as they were ſtated by the commiſſioners of public accounts, amounted to - - - - - £. 65,853,799. 8s. 7½d. †

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſ. † Camp. Pol. Survey, vol. ii. p. 543.

And

And the national debt ſwelled, before the 31ſt December 1714, to - £. 50,644,306. 13s. 6¼d.; on which was paid an intereſt of * £. 2,811,903. 10s. 5½d. and which were all more than counterbalanced by the legiſlative encouragements, that were given in this reign to domeſtic induſtry and foreign trade.

The ſurplus produce of our land and labour, which was yearly exported, had mean time riſen to £. 6,045,432; which equally evinces, that we had not yet much to ſpare, and conſequently no vaſt remittance, which could be annually ſent abroad for carrying on the war.

The tonnage of Engliſh ſhips, which from time to time tranſported this cargo, and which at that epoch formed the principal nurſery for the royal navy, had increaſed to - 273,693 tons; which muſt have been navigated, if we allow twelve men to every two hundred tons, by - - - 16,422 ſailors.

By an enumeration † of the trading veſſels of England, in January 1701, it appeared, that

London had - - 84,882 tons,
The out-ports had 176,340

261,222; and that they were navigated by 16,471 men, and 120 boys, or 16,591 ſailors.

The inconſiderable difference between the enumerated tonnage and mariners, and the tonnage

* Hiſt. of Debt, p. 80; which gives a particular ſtatement.
† A detail in the Plantation-office.

and

and mariners cleared at the cuſtom-houſe, only marks, that ſeveral ſhips had entered more than once, and that a greater number of men were then allowed to every veſſel than there are now; whence we may infer, that the calculation and the enumeration prove the accuracy of each other.

	Tons.	Men.
The royal navy, which in 1695 had carried —	112,000	and 45,000,
had mouldered before 1704 * to — —	104,754	— 41,000

Its real force will, however, more clearly appear from the following detail: †

* An admiralty-liſt of all her Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in ſea-pay, at home and abroad, on the 27th of February 1703-4, with the higheſt complement of men, and the numbers borne, muſtered, and wanting. [From the Paper-office.]

Number of ſhips.		Rates.
5	of	2
40	—	3
57	—	4
33	—	5
16	—	6, beſides fire-ſhips,

bombs, and ſmaller veſſels, all which

	Complement of men.	Borne.	Muſtered.
Contained	46,745	39,720	30,778
Wanting	—	7,025	15,967

† Philips's State of the Nation, p. 35.

Ships of the line employed in —

1702	74	1707	72
1703	79	1708	69
1704	74	1709	67
1705	79	1710	62
1706	78	1711	59

Such then was the ſtrength of the nation under Queen Anne. Let us now enquire into the loſſes of our trade during her glorious, but unproductive, war.

The effort of the belligerent powers was made chiefly by land; and the foreign trade of England ſeems to have rather languiſhed, than to have been overpowered, as it had been for a ſeaſon, during the preceding conteſt. Let us examine the following proofs:

Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1700, 1, 2	273,693	43,635	317,328	6,045,432
1705	———	———	———	5,308,966
1709	243,693	45,625	289,318	5,913,357
1711	266,047	57,890	323,937	5,962,988
1712	326,620	29,115	355,735	6,868,840

The revenue of the poſt-office *, on an average of the four laſt years of William, yielded nett — — £. 82,319
Ditto of the four firſt years of the war - 61,568

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript.

Thus,

Thus, the year 1705 marked the loweſt ſtage of the depreſſion of commerce, during Queen Anne's wars; whence it gradually roſe till 1712, the laſt year of hoſtilities, when our navigation and traffic had gained a manifeſt ſuperiority over thoſe of any former period of peace.

Let us behold the rebound of this mighty ſpring, when the return of tranquillity had removed every preſſure, by contraſting the average of the ſhips cleared outwards, and of the value of their cargoes, during the three peaceful years preceding the war, with both, during the three years immediately following the treaty of Utrecht.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1699 } 1700 } 1	293,703	43,625	337,328	6,709,881
1713 } 14 } 15	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573

The nett annual revenue * of the poſt-office, according to an average of the years 1707—8—9—10 — £. 58,052

Ditto on an average † of the years 1711—12—13—14 — — 90,223

* Mr. Aſtle's Tranſcript.

† And. Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 266: But, the office had been now extended to every dominion of the crown, and the rates of poſtage augmented one-third from 1710. The poſt-office revenue, ſays Anderſon, is a kind of *politico-commercial pulſe* of a nation's proſperity or decline.

At

At the moment of this marvellous advance in manufactures, traffic, and induſtry, the people were taught to believe, that theſe bleſſings ſcarcely exiſted among them. "Our trade," ſays Mr. William Wood to King George I.* "was then expiring; our foreign commerce, in many parts, entirely loſt, and in general ſuſpended; what little was left us, was become too precarious to be called ours." And, in the encomiaſtic ſtyle of his dedication, he attributes our regeneration from "the loſt condition our trade was then in, to his Majeſty's timely acceſſion." The miniſters of this monarch did little honour to themſelves, by inciting all that clamour, or by propagating ſo much factious falſhood. It was not the peace of Utrecht, which promoted the unexampled proſperity of our commercial affairs; but, it was *peace.*

The public revenue had now been divided into the *eſtabliſhed income*, as the inland duties, the exciſe, and the cuſtoms; and into *annual grants*, as the malt and the land tax. The inland duties, conſiſting at the demiſe of the Queen of fifteen diſtinct heads, were all managed by diſtinct commiſſioners, and may be eſtimated at the yearly amount of £.453,002, from an average of the years 1707—8—9—10. The exciſe, properly ſo

* Wood's Dedication of *The Survey of Trade.* For this, Wood was rewarded with the patent for coining Iriſh halfpence, which procured him ſo much celebration by Swift; and with what was of more real value, the office of Secretary to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms.

called, and collected under the peculiar management of the commiſſioners of exciſe, conſiſted of twenty-ſeven different articles, and may be calculated, from the ſame average, at £. 1,629,245, including the duty on malt. And we may thence determine how much it may have obſtructed labour, and checked the progreſs of population. The nett cuſtoms, ariſing from our imports and exports, conſiſted then of forty-one different branches, and may be calculated from a fifteen years average, from 1700 to 1714 incluſive, to have amounted to £. 1,352,764 *.

Having enumerated " that ſad detail of taxes," the hiſtorian of our debts exclaims: " Can we wonder at the decay of our commerce, under ſuch circumſtances? Should not we rather wonder that we have any left?" But, what regard is there due to a general inference, in oppoſition to authentic facts? It has been already demonſtrated, that in no former effluxion of time did the manufactures and trade of England flouriſh ſo much, or amount to ſo large an extent, as at the demiſe of Queen Anne, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of our impoſts, and the immenſity of our debts. And, when we conſider too, that the taxes had produced abundantly, we may from theſe deciſive circumſtances certainly conclude, that the war had little incommoded the induſtrious claſſes; and that the principle of procreation exerted its powers, while an attentive diligence preſerved a numerous pro-

* Philips's State of the Nation, p. 26.

geny,

geny, by furniſhing the conſtant means of ſubſiſtence.

Whoever examines the laws of Queen Anne, with a view to this ſubject, muſt be of opinion, that they all tended to promote the commercial intereſts of the nation, as ſuch intereſts were then underſtood.

But, the union of the two kingdoms is the glory, and ought to be the boaſt of her reign. The incorporation of two independent legiſlatures has proved equally advantageous to both countries, whether we regard the intereſt of the ſtate, or the happineſs of the governed. When we conſider the weakneſs, which reſulted from the ancient inroads of the Scotch, and the danger of future ſeparation, we muſt allow, that this conjunction was worth to England almoſt any price. And the compreſſion of the hearts and hands of two divided nations, gave an elaſticity and vigour to the united kingdoms, which ſeparately neither had ever attained. If as communities ſo much ſtrength and felicity were derived from the Union, the Scotch, as individuals at leaſt, were ſtill greater gainers from this aſſociation of intereſts and affections. Freed from the tyranny of the nobles, by being admitted into a political ſyſtem more liberal than their own, the people of Scotland thenceforth enjoyed the ſame privileges, as ſimilar ranks in England had long derived from fortunate events, or wiſe inſtitutions. And, inveſted with the ſame benefits of commerce, the Scotch melio-

rated their agriculture, improved their manufactures, extended their trade, and acquired an opulence, which, as a people, ſeparate and overſhadowed, they had not for ages accompliſhed. The acquiſitions of both happily proved advantageous to each. And while the Engliſh buſily cultivated the peculiar arts of peace, the Scotch were brought, by a wiſe policy, from mountains, the natural nurſery of warriors, to fight the national battles of both.

From the epoch of the Union, the ſame ſalutary regulations promoted equally the proſperity and populouſneſs of Great-Britain. Among theſe Anderſon * has recorded the uſeful reviſal, in 1710, of the ancient aſſize of bread and ale [1266]; becauſe "it was ſo neceſſary for our labourers and artificers, as well as for all other people." Whatever number of lives were loſt during the wars of William and Anne, it ſeems certain, ſays that induſtrious compiler, "that the artificers of England did irreparable damage in the mean time to the French, by robbing them of many of their beſt manufactures, wherewith they had before ſupplied almoſt all Europe."

The foregoing details caſt a juſt cenſure on the furious party-conteſts, during the laſt years of Queen Anne, in reſpect to the condition of our commerce; as if the proſperity, or the ruin of manufactories and trade, were influenced by the

* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 251.

continuance

continuance of ſtateſmen in the poſſeſſion, or in the expectation, of emolument and power. The huſbandman and the ſailor only look for employment, the mechanic and the merchant only inquire for cuſtomers, without caring who are the rulers, from whom they enjoy protection, ſince they ſeldom gain from the conteſts of the great.

WHILE George I. was in ſecret little anxious about the ſtability of his throne, amid the claſh of domeſtic parties, he engaged ſucceſſively in conteſts with almoſt every European power, becauſe each in its turn had given protection to the Pretender to his crown.

But, the foreign diſputes of this reign were ſhort, as well as unexpenſive. And they did not, therefore, call forth the whole force of the kingdom; which may be deduced in the following manner.

If the current of population continued its progreſs, as we have ſeen it did to the commencement of the preſent reign, the fighting men muſt have amounted, during the time of George I. to two millions and fifty thouſand. And the effective wealth of the country, there is reaſon to think, had accumulated mean while in a ſtill greater proportion.

Owing to the encreaſe of circulation, which enables the opulent to convert ſo eaſily land into coin, or coin into land, and to the accumulation too of moveable property, the intereſt of money

began to fall towards the end of King William's reign, when no great balance of trade flowed into the kingdom. And the natural intereſt continuing low, even amid the preſſures of the ſubſequent war, the Parliament enacted, in 1713, that the legal intereſt ſhould not riſe higher than five per cent. after September 1714. Thus England, while ſhe was yet embarraſſed with the never-failing conſequences of war, gained "that abatement of intereſt by law," which Sir Joſiah Child rather too fondly inſiſted, during the preceding age, would produce ſo many benefits to his country: The *advance of the price of lands in the purchaſe*; the *improvement of the rent of farms*; the *employment of the poor*; the *multiplication of artificers*; the *increaſe of foreign trade*; and the *augmentation of the ſtocks of people*. The natural intereſt of money fell to three per cent. in the reign of George I. while the government ſeldom borrowed at more than four.

The practice of borrowing on behalf of the ſtate had commenced with the preſſures of King William's reign. This policy was continued, and extended, during the wars of Anne. But, in the time of her ſucceſſor, the contract between the government and the lenders was not ſo much made, as in preceding times, for the re-payment of the principal, as for an annuity inſtead of intereſt.

The

The nation had thus contracted a debt, before the 31ſt of December 1714, of - £. 50,644,307;

to pay the intereſt of which required, from the land and labour of this kingdom - - - - £. 2,811,904.

It ought to be remembered, however, that this debt was due by the nation in its collective capacity; but, that individual creditors had acquired a vaſt capital in it, of the more importance to them and the public; as, beſides yielding an annual profit, it was equally commodious as coin, for all the uſes of life; ſince it could be eaſily pledged, or transferred. And landowners were thereby enabled to improve their eſtates, manufacturers to carry on their buſineſs, traders to extend our commerce, and every one to pay their taxes. If by this debt, and by this annuity, the ſtate was ſomewhat embarraſſed, the induſtrious claſſes derived, probably, ſome advantage, from the active motion, which was thereby given to the circulating value of all things. Yet, if the people received no poſitive benefit, they were at leaſt enabled, by this facility, to ſuſtain actual burdens with greater eaſe.

While taxes were, without rigour, collected from annual income, and not from productive capital, a financial operation was performed, in 1716, which gradually relieved the embarraſſments of

the ſtate, and gave freſh vigour to *circulation*, that energetic principle of commercial times. All thoſe taxes, which had from time to time been granted for the payment of various annuities, were at once made perpetual, and directed to be paid into three great funds. The intereſt of the public debts was reduced from ſix per cent. to five. And whatever ſurpluſes might remain, after paying this liquidated intereſt, were ordered to be thrown into a fourth fund, which was thenceforth called *the ſinking fund*, becauſe it was deſigned to pay off the principal and intereſt of ſuch debts as had been contracted before Chriſtmas 1716.

So productive were the taxes, owing to the proſperity of the people, that theſe ſurpluſes amounted, before the end of the reign of George I. to £. 1,083,190*. And theſe ſurpluſes would have made the country ſtill more proſperous, had the ſinking fund been conſtantly applied, as it was thus originally deſigned; by keeping circulation full and overflowing, and thereby preventing what is commonly deplored as *a ſcarcity of money*.

Notwithſtanding that ſalutary operation, and our manufactures and trade were at the ſame time greatly encouraged, the capital of the public debts amounted to nearly as much as in 1714, at the demiſe of George I. though the annuity, payable on them, was by thoſe means reduced £. 1,133,807.

* Exchequer account, in the Hiſtory of Debts.

We ſhall however gain a more adequate idea, not only of the public revenue and burdens, but of the reſources of the nation, from the following detail:

The nett exciſe, according to a medium of four years, ending at Michaelmas 1726 (excluſive of the malt-tax) - -	£. 1,927,354	
The nett annual cuſtoms	1,530,361	
Various and promiſcuous internal taxes -	666,459	
Total appropriated		£. 4.124,175
The land-tax at 2 *s.* in the pound is given for	£. 1,000,000	
Malt-duty brings in £. 680,000, but is given for - - -	750,000	
Raiſed by lottery - -	750,000	
Total annual grants for current ſervices		2,500,000
Nett annual revenue - -		£. 6,624,175
Charges of collection - - -		600,000
The groſs ſum raiſed yearly on the people - - -		£. 7,224,175

The

The public expenditure was as follows:

Intereſt of a debt of £. 50,793,555, including the ſurplus of the civil liſt, which is 3,678 per annum,	£. 2,240,985	
The civil liſt - - -	800,000	
		3,040,985
Surplus of the ſinking fund -		1,083,190
The current ſervices of the army, navy, &c. - - - - -		2,500,000
The annual charges with current ſervices - - - - -		6,624,175
Salaries and other charges, at leaſt		600,000
Groſs ſum annually applied -		£. 7,224,175

The value of the ſurplus products of the land and labour of England, after domeſtic conſumption was fully ſupplied, amounted yearly, at the acceſſion of George I. to £. 8,008,068; which formed a much larger cargo than had ever been exported before. And from this circumſtance we might infer, that there was now employed a greater capital in trade than, by means of its productive employment, had, in any prior age, promoted the wealth and greatneſs of Britain.

The

The Engliſh ſhipping, which exported that vaſt cargo, at the acceſſion of George I. had then increaſed to - - - - - 444,843 tons; which muſt have been navigated, if we allow twelve mariners to every two hundred tons, by - 26,691 men.

The royal navy, which had been principally left by Queen Anne, carried, in 1715 - - - 167,596 tons.
Wood ſtated * the amount of the navy, in 1721, at - - - 158,233 tons;

which, ſaid he, is more than in 1688, by 57,201 tons; and more than in 1660, by 95,639.

Notwithſtanding the boaſts of Wood, and the glory acquired by defeating the Spaniſh fleet in 1718, it is apparent, that the navy had lately ſuſtained a diminution of - - - 9,363 tons.

Having ſaid thus much with regard to the ſtrength of Britain, let us now examine the loſſes of our trade, from the petty wars of the preſent reign; which ſeem not indeed to have much interrupted the foreign commerce of the kingdom,

* Survey of Trade, p. 55.

while

while ſalutary regulations incited the domeſtic induſtry of the people.

Owing probably to a complication of cauſes, the traffic and navigation of England appear to have ſtruggled with their oppreſſions, but never to have riſen much ſuperior to the amount of both, during the year of the acceſſion of George I. The following details offer ſufficient proofs of this:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
Years.	Tons Engliſh.	Do foreign.	Total.	£.
1714	444,843	33,950	478,793	8,008,068
15	406,392	19,508	425,900	6,922,263
16	438,816	17,493	456,309	7,049,992
1718	427,962	16,809	444,771	6,361,390
23	392,643	27,040	419,683	7,395,908

We ſhall ſee however a progreſs, if we contraſt the averages of our navigation and trade, at the beginning and at the end of George I's reign; and if we alſo recollect, that the buſineſs of 1726 and 1727 was ſomewhat intercepted by war, or by preparations for war.

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
Years.	Tons Engliſh.	Do foreign.	Total.	£.
1713, 14, 15	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573
1726, 27, 28	432,832	23,651	456,483	7,891,739

During

During this progreſs there were, however, " *a general complaint* and concern of the nation, on the ſubject of *a decline of trade* *." Joſhua Gee publiſhed, about the ſame time, his treatiſe, in order " to ſhew the wounds our commerce and manufactories had received;" which " he put into the hands of the miniſters, of the King, the Queen, and the Prince †." When Eraſmus Philips wrote his *State of the Nation*, in 1725 ‡, he found " ſome men ſo gloomy, that they thought us in a worſe condition than we really are, and that it would be impoſſible to pay off the public debts; ſince all this pomp is nothing but falſe luſtre; as we owe more than we are worth; as our money is diminiſhed; and as we have little left but paper-credit." Againſt this contemporaneous declamation, which ſhews that man, in every age, utters his lamentations in a ſimilar tone, Philips ſtated, what experience has ſhewn to have been undoubtedly true, the *certain proofs* of the *proſperity* and *opulence of a country*; *great numbers of induſtrious people*; a *rich commonalty*; *money at low intereſt*; and *land at a great value.*

Nevertheleſs, there were aſſuredly events, during the reign of George I. which caſt a gloom over the nation, and obſtructed general proſperity.

* Wood's Survey. † Gee's Dedication.

‡ Preface to *The State of the Nation*; which, as well as *Wood's Survey*, was dedicated to the King, according to the practice of the times.

The

The perſecutions of the great, on the acceſſion of a new family, which were followed by the tumults of the mean, ought to give a leſſon of moderation; ſince they were attended with no good conſequences to the ſtate. The ſubſequent rebellion of 1715 brought with it a twelvemonth of diſtraction, without leaving the terrors of example. And the war with Spain, in 1718, obſtructed our Mediterranean commerce, as every war with that kingdom muſt continue to do, while the great cauſe of hoſtilities remains, and bids the Spaniards defiance. But, it was the infamous year 1720, which diverted all claſſes to projects and bubbles, that ought to be blotted from our annals, if they did not form remarkable beacons to direct our future courſe.

Of this reign it is the characteriſtic, that though in no period were there ſo many laws enacted, for promoting domeſtic and foreign trade, yet, at no time did both proſper leſs, during thoſe days of captious peace, rather than avowed hoſtilities. The treaty of commerce with Spain, in 1715, muſt have inſpired our traders with freſh vigour. The law which, in 1718, prohibited any Britiſh ſubject from carrying on traffic to the Eaſt under foreign commiſſions, turned their ardour upon more invigorating objects, by preventing productive capital from being ſent abroad. The meaſure of allowing the exportation of *Britiſh-made linen, duty-free*, in 1717, gave us a manufacture, which

which is ſaid, even then, to have employed many thouſands of the poor. And the fiſheries were encouraged by bounties, which muſt have multiplied the important race of our mariners.

The ſalutary laws, which were made for inciting domeſtic induſtry, were doubtleſs more efficacious in the ſubſequent reign, than they were felt in any great degree, during the preſent. The manufactories of iron, of braſs, and of copper, being conſidered as the third in extent, ſince they employed, *as it is ſaid*, in 1719, two hundred and thirty thouſand perſons, were promoted with the attention, which was due to their importance. The continued encouragement, that had been given to the fabrics of ſilk, and the erection of the vaſt machine of Lomb, in 1719, had raiſed the annual value of this manufacture to £.700,000, in 1722, more, as it is ſtated, than it had yielded at the Revolution.

But, the year 1722 muſt always form an epoch, as memorable for a great operation in commercial policy, as the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund had been in finance, a few years before. The Parliament had indeed, in 1672, withdrawn the duties, which were then payable by *aliens*, on the exportation of *our own* manufactures. This ſalutary principle was ſtill more extended, in 1700, by removing the impoſts on every kind of woollen goods, that ſhould be thereafter ſent abroad. It was however by the law *for the further encourage-*

ment of manufactures, that every one was allowed to export *duty-free* all merchandizes, the produce of Great Britain, except only ſuch articles as ſhould be deemed *materials* of manufacture; while drugs, and other goods uſed for dying, were equally permitted to be imported *duty-free.* And other facilities were at the ſame time given to trade, whilſt the fiſheries were incited by bounties.

After enumerating all preceding meaſures of encouragement, Anderſon * remarks, in 1727, that nothing can more obviouſly demonſtrate the amazing increaſe of England's commerce, in leſs than two centuries paſt, than the great growth of its manufacturing towns, ſuch as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and others; which are ſtill increaſing in wealth, people, buſineſs, and buildings. Yet, Lord Moleſworth † complained, in 1721, "that we are not one-third peopled, and our ſtock of men daily decreaſes through our wars, plantations, and ſea-voyages." His lordſhip was arguing, when he made this obſervation, for a *general naturalization,* a policy of very doubtful merit, becauſe in all ſudden change there is conſiderable inconvenience; and he may have therefore been biaſſed by his principle. If this nobleman intended to add his teſtimony to an apparent fact, that he ſaw no labourers to hire, his

* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 314.

† Pref. to his tranſlation of Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, 2d edit. p. 23—4.

evidence

evidence would only prove, *that the induſtrious claſſes were fully employed*; and employment never fails to promote population. If his lordſhip only meant to give vent to his laudable anxieties for his country, this circumſtance would lead us to infer, that great as well as little minds are too apt to complain of the miſeries of the preſent.

THE reign of George II. with whatever ſiniſter events it opened, will be found to have promoted greatly, before its ſucceſsful end, the induſtry and productive capital of the nation; and conſequently, the efficient numbers of the people.

He found his kingdom burdened with a funded debt of rather more than fifty millions; which required, from the land and labour of the nation, taxes to the amount of two millions and upwards, to pay the creditors' annuity.

But, as his predeceſſor reduced, ten years before, the intereſt payable on the public debts, from ſix *per cent.* to five, the adminiſtration of the preſent King made a further reduction, with the conſent of all parties, from five *per cent.* to four, in 1727. Theſe meaſures, which the fortunate circumſtances of the times rendered eaſy and ſafe, not only ſtrengthened public and private credit, but, by reducing the natural intereſt of money ſtill more, muſt have thereby facilitated every ope-

ration of domeſtic manufactures, as well as every effort of foreign traffic. The fabrics of wool were at the ſame time freed from fraud. And the peace with Spain, in 1728, muſt have invigorated our exportations to the Mediterranean; the more, as a truce was then alſo made with Morocco.

Yet, party-rage ran ſo high, in 1729, ſays Anderſon*, that the friends of the miniſter found themſelves obliged to prove by *facts*, what was before generally known to be true, that *Britain was then in a thriving condition:* the low intereſt of money, ſaid they, demonſtrates a greater plenty of caſh than formerly; this abundance of money has raiſed the price of lands from twenty and twenty-one years purchaſe to twenty and twenty-five; which proves, that there were more perſons able and ready to buy than formerly:—And the great ſums of late expended in the incloſing and improving of lands, and in opening mines, are proofs of an augmentation of opulence and people; while the increaſed value of our exports ſhews an increaſe of manufactures; and the greater

* Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 322.—The cauſe of the above-mentioned *party-rage* is now ſufficiently known. Sir Spencer Compton outwitted himſelf in the bargain for *place*, about Queen Caroline's jointure. Sir R. Walpole did not higgle with her Majeſty about a hundred thouſand pounds: and he was, in return, continued *the miniſter*. But, the proſperity of the people is no wiſe connected with the intereſted conteſts among *the great*.

number

number of ſhipping cleared outwards marks the greater extent of our navigation.

If we compare the averages of our veſſels and cargoes, in the firſt years of the preſent reign, with thoſe of the three years of peace, which preceded the war of 1739, we ſhall ſee all theſe truths in a ſtill more pleaſing light.

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
1726 } 27 } 28 }	Tons Eng. 432,832	D° foreign. 23,651	Total. 456,483	£. 7,918,406
1736 } 37 } 38 }	476,941	26,627	503,568	9,993,232

It was at this moment of unexampled proſperity, that the elder Lord Lyttelton wrote *Conſiderations on the preſent State of Affairs*, (1738). "In moſt parts of England," ſays he, "gentlemen's rents are ſo ill paid, and the weight of taxes lies ſo heavy upon them, that thoſe who have nothing from the Court can ſcarce ſupport their families.—Such is the ſtate of our manufactures, ſuch is that of our colonies; both ſhould be enquired into, that the nation may know, whether the former can ſupport themſelves much longer under their various preſſures." The editor of his lordſhip's works would have done no diſſervice to the memory of a worthy man, had he conſigned this factious effuſion to anonymous obſcurity. Animated by a congenial ſpirit, Pope

too wrote *Conſiderations on the State of Affairs*; in his two dialogues, entitled THIRTY-EIGHT, he repreſents, in moſt energetic language, and exquiſite numbers, the nation *as totally ruined*; as *overwhelmed with corruption*. It was about the ſame time alſo, that Sir Mathew Decker compoſed his eſſay "*On the Cauſes of the Decline of Foreign Trade.*" But, it is not eaſy to conceive any diſquiſition more depraved, than a treatiſe to explain *the cauſes* of *an effect* which did *not exiſt*.

It was the evident purpoſe of ſome of theſe writers to drive the nation headlong into war, without thinking of any other conſequences, than acquiring power, or gratifying ſpleen; and without caring how much a people, repreſented as unable to pay their rents, might be burthened with taxes; or a country, painted as feeble from diſſipation, might be diſgraced, or conquered.

If the nation had thus proſpered in her affairs, and the people thus increaſed in their numbers, Great Britain muſt have contained, when ſhe was factiouſly forced into war with Spain, a greater number of fighting men than had ever fought her battles before. And ſhe muſt have poſſeſſed a maſs of productive capital, and a greatneſs of annual income, far ſuperior to thoſe of former years.

The courſe of circulation had filled, and even overflowed. The natural intereſt of money ran ſteadily at three per cent. The price of all the public

lic ſecurities had riſen ſo much higher than they had been in any other period, that the three *per cent.* ſtocks ſold at a premium on 'Change *. And the annual ſurpluſes of the ſtanding taxes, as they were paid into the ſinking-fund, amounted, in 1738, to no leſs a ſum than £. 1,231,127.

Of this fund it has been very properly obſerved, that while it contributes to the liquidation of former debts, it ſtill more facilitates the contracting of new ones. But, the great conteſt among the public creditors at that fortunate epoch, was not ſo much who ſhould be paid his capital, but who ſhould be ſuffered to remain creditors of the ſtate †.

The value of the ſurplus produce of our land and labour, which were then exported, amounted yearly to £. 9,993,232; and which might have been applied, when ſent to foreign countries, as remittances for carrying on the war at the greateſt diſtance. It is indeed an acknowledged fact, that during no effluxion of time was there ever ſuch conſiderable balances paid to England, as there were tranſmitted in the courſe of the war of 1739, on the general ſtate of her payments.

The Engliſh ſhipping, which actually tranſported that vaſt cargo, amounted annually to 476,941 tons; which were navigated probably by 26,616 men, who might have been all engaged in the public ſervice, either by influence, or force.

* Sir J. Barnard's ſpeech for the reduction of intereſt. † Id.

There had mean while been an equal progreſs in the royal navy; which carried

	Tons.
in 1727 — —	170,862
in 1741 — —	198,387
in 1749 — —	228,215 *

Thus much being premiſed, as to the ſtate of our ſtrength, we ſhall gain a ſufficient knowledge of the condition of our navigation and commerce, during the war of 1739, by attending to the ſubjoined detail:

* An admiralty-liſt, in the Paper-office, gives us the following detail of the King's ſhips in ſea-pay, on the 19th July 1738.

	Ships.		
Stationed in the Plantations -	24	carrying	5,045 men.
in the Mediterranean,	17	- -	5,011
at Newfoundland,	3	- -	690
Ordered home, - -	4	- -	720
On the Iriſh coaſt, - -	6	- -	550
At home, - - - -	41	- -	9,602
	95	-	23,418 mariners.

By preparations for a naval war, the foregoing liſt had been ſwelled, before March 1739, to 147 ſhips, carrying 38,849 men. But their numbers were defective, in 4,758 borne, and in 8,618 muſtered.—From the ſame authority, we have the following abſtract of the royal navy in June 1748; which, when compared with the liſt of 1738, gives us an idea ſufficiently preciſe of *the fleet* of England, during the war of 1739.

It conſiſted of - - - 89 ſhips of the line.
of - - - 153 frigates.

242; whoſe complement of men was 60,654.

Years,

Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1736, 37, 38	476,941	26,627	503,568	9,993,232
1739, 40, 41	384,191	87,260	471,451	8,870,499
1744	373,817	72,849	446,666	9,190,621
1747	394,571	101,671	496,242	9,775,340
1748	479,236	75,477	554,713	11,141,202

Thus the year 1744 marked the ultimate point of commercial depreſſion, if we judge from the tonnage; and 1740, if we draw our inference from the value of exports: Yet, whether we argue from the one or the other, we muſt conclude, that the intereſt of merchants was little affected by this naval war.

But, we ſhall at once ſee how little our induſtrious claſſes were affected, by the war, at home, and with what elaſticity the ſpring of foreign trade rebounded on the removal of warfare, by comparing the averages of our navigation and commerce, during the peaceful years before hoſtilities began, and after they ended:

	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1736, 37, 38	476,941	26,627	503,568	9,993,232
1749, 50, 51	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112

During the foregoing fifty years of uncommon proſperity, as to our agriculture * and manufacture, our navigation, and traffic, and credit, the incumbrances of the public, and the burdens of the people, equally continued to increaſe. The debt, which was left at the demiſe of Queen Anne, remained undiminiſhed in its capital at the demiſe of George I. though the annuity payable on it had been leſſened almoſt a million. The ten years of ſubſequent peace having made little alteration, the public debt amounted, on the 31ſt of December 1738, to - £.46,314,829. 10s. 0¼d. on the 31ſt of December 1749 to - - † 74,221,686. 10s. 11½d.:

—whence we perceive, by an eaſy calculation, that an additional debt had been mean while incurred, of £. 27,906,857. 0s. 11d. beſides un-

* It appears, by an account laid before the Parliament, that there had been exported in *five* years, from 1744 to 1748, *corn* from England to the amount of 3,768,444 quarters; which, at a medium of prices, was worth to this nation, £. 8,007,948. Now, the average of the five years is 753,689 quarters yearly, of the value of £.1,601,589. The exportation of 1749 and 1750 roſe ſtill higher. "This is an immenſe ſum," ſays the compiler of the Annual Regiſter, [1772, p. 197] "to flow immediately from the produce of the earth, and the labour of the people; enriching our merchants, and increaſing an invaluable breed of ſeamen." He might have added, with equal propriety, *enriching our yeomanry, and increaſing the uſeful breed of labourers dependant on them.*

† Hiſtory of Debts.

funded

funded debts to a conſiderable amount, But, the nine years war of 1739 coſt this nation upwards of ſixty-four millions, without gaining an object; becauſe no valuable object can be gained by any war. It is to be lamented, when hoſtilities ceaſe, that the party, which forces the nation to begin them, without adequate cauſe, is not compelled to pay the expence.

The current of wealth, which had flowed into the nation, during the obſtructions of war, continued a ſtill more rapid courſe, on the return of peace. The taxes produced abundantly, becauſe an induſtrious people conſumed liberally. And the ſurpluſes of all the impoſts, after paying the intereſt of debts, amounted to £. 1,274,172 *. The coffers of the rich began to overflow. Circulation became ſtill more rapid. The intereſt of money, which had riſen during the preſſures of war to four *per cent.* fell to three, when the ceſſation of hoſtilies terminated the loans to government. The adminiſtration ſeized this proſperous moment to reduce, with the conſent of the proprietors, the intereſt of almoſt fifty-eight million of debts from four *per cent.* to three and a half, for ſeven years, from 1750, and afterwards to three *per cent.* for ever. And by theſe prudent meaſures, the annuity payable to the creditors of the ſtate was leſſened, in the years 1750 and 1751, from £. 2,966,000 to £. 2,663,000 †.

* Hiſtory of Debts from an Exchequer account.

† J. Poſtlethwayt's Hiſtory of the Revenue, p. 238.

It

It was at this fortunate epoch, that Lord Bolingbroke wrote *Some Conſiderations on the State of the Nation*; in which he repreſents *the public as on the verge of bankruptcy*, and *the people as ready to fall into confuſion*, from their *diſtreſs* and *danger*. Little did that illuſtrious party-man know, at leaſt little was he willing to own, how much both the public and the people had advanced, from the time when he had been driven from power, in all that can make a nation proſperous and great. Doddington at the ſame time—"ſaw the country in ſo dangerous a condition, and found himſelf ſo incapable to give it relief *," —that he reſigned a lucrative office from pure diſintereſtedneſs. And the ſecond edition of Decker's *Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Decline of Foreign Trade*, was opportunely publiſhed, with additional arguments, in 1750, to evince to the world the *cauſes* of an *effect*, that did *not exiſt*.

Notwithſtanding all that apparent proſperity and augmentation of numbers, we ought to mention, as circumſtances, which probably may have retarded the progreſs of population, the Spaniſh war of 1727, that was not, however, of long continuance. The ſettlement of Georgia, in 1733, carried off a few of the loweſt orders, the idle and the needy. The real hoſtilities that began in 1739, were probably attended with much more baneful conſequences. The rebellion of 1745, introduced a temporary diſorder, though

* Diary, March 1749—50, &c.

there

there were drawn from its confuſions, meaſures the moſt ſalutary, in reſpect to induſtry and population. "Let the country gentlemen," ſays Corbyn Morris, when ſpeaking on the then mortality of London [March 1750–1] "be called forth and declare—Have they not continually felt, for many years paſt, an increaſing want of huſbandmen and day-labourers? Have the farmers throughout the kingdom no juſt complaints of the *exceſſive increaſing prices of workmen*, and of the impoſſibility of procuring a ſufficient number at any price?"

Now, admitting the truth of theſe pregnant affirmations, they may be ſhewn to have been altogether conſiſtent with facts and with principles. Allowing his *many years* to reach to the demiſe of George I. it may be aſſerted, becauſe it has been proved, that our agriculture had been ſo much improved, as not only to ſupply domeſtic wants, but even to furniſh other nations with the means of ſubſiſtence; and every branch of our manufactures kept pace with the flouriſhing ſtate of our huſbandry. It is ſurely demonſtrable, that it required a greater number of artificers to manufacture commodities of the value of £. 11,141,202, and to navigate 554,713 tons of ſhipping, in 1748, than to fabricate goods of the value of £. 7,951,772, and to navigate 456,483 tons of ſhipping, in 1728. But, great demand creates a ſcarcity of all things; which in the end procures an abundant ſupply. And, that *the exceſſive prices*

of

of workmen did in fact produce a reinforcement of *workmen*, may be inferred from the numbers which, in no long period, were brought into action, by public and private encouragement.

We see in familiar life, that when money is expended upon works of uncommon magnitude, in any village, or parish, labourers are always collected, in proportion to the augmentation of employments. Experience shews, that the same increase of the industrious classes never fails to ensue in larger districts; in a town, a county, or a kingdom, when proportional sums are expended for labour. And it is in this manner, that manufactures and trade every where augment the numbers of mankind, by the active expenditure of productive capitals. He, then, who labours to evince, that the lower orders of men decrease in numbers, while agriculture, the arts (both useful and ornamental) with commerce, are advancing from inconsiderable beginnings, to unexampled greatness, is only diligent to prove, That *causes do* NOT *produce their effects*.

To those reasons of prosperity, that, having for years existed, had thus produced the most beneficial effects, prior to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, new encouragements were immediately added. The reduction of the interest of the national debts, by measures altogether consistent with justice and public faith, shewed not only the flourishing condition of the kingdom, but also tended to make it flourish still more. And there necessarily followed

all

all thoſe ſalutary conſequences, in reſpect to domeſtic diligence and foreign commerce, which, Sir Joſiah Child inſiſted a century before, would reſult from *the lowneſs of intereſt*.

An additional incitement was at the ſame time given to the whale-fiſhery, partly by the naturalization of ſkilful foreigners, but more by pecuniary bounties. The eſtabliſhment of the corporation of *The Free Britiſh Fiſhery*, in 1750, muſt have promoted population, by giving employment to the induſtrious claſſes, however unprofitable the project may have been to the undertakers, whoſe ſucceſs was unhappily ſo unequal to their good intentions and unrecompenſed expences. The voluntary ſociety, which was entered into in 1754, *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, muſt have been attended with ſtill more beneficial effects, by animating the ſpirit of experiment and perſeverance. And the laws, which were ſucceſſively enacted, and meaſures purſued, from 1732 to 1760, *for preventing the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors*, muſt have promoted populouſneſs, by preſerving the health, and inciting the diligence of the lower orders of the people.

Yet, theſe ſtatutes, ſalutary as they muſt have been, did promote the health and numbers of the people, in a more eminent degree, than the laws which were paſſed, during the ſame period, for making more eaſy communications by the improvement of roads. We may judge of the neceſſity of theſe acts of legiſlation from the penalties annexed

annexed to them. Of the founderous condition of the roads of England, while they were amended by the compulſive labour of the poor, we may judge indeed from the wretched ſtate of the ways, which, in the preſent times, are kept in repair by the ancient mode. Turnpikes, which we ſaw firſt introduced ſoon after the Reſtoration, were erected ſlowly, in oppoſition to the prejudices of the people. The act, which for a time made it felony, at the beginning of the reign of George II. to pull down a toll-gate, was continued as a perpetual law, before the concluſion of it. Yet, the great roads of England remained almoſt in their ancient condition, even as late as 1752 and 1754, when the traveller ſeldom ſaw a turnpike for two hundred miles, after leaving the vicinity of London *. And we now know from experience how much the making of highways and bridges advances the population of any country, by extending correſpondence, by facilitating communications, and, conſequently, by promoting internal traffic, which was thereby rendered greater than our foreign; ſince *the beſt cuſtomers of Britain are the people of Britain.*

AFTER a captious peace of very ſhort duration, the flames of war, which for ſeveral years had burnt unſeen among the American woods, broke out at length in 1755. Unfortunate as

* See the Gentleman's Magazine 1752—54.

theſe

theſe hoſtilities were at the beginning, they yet proved ſucceſsful in the end, owing to cauſes, that it is the province of hiſtory to explain.

However faſhionable it then was for diſcontented ſtateſmen to talk * of *the conſuming condition of the country*, it might have been inferred beforehand, that we had prodigious reſources, if the ruling powers had been animated by any genius. The defeats, which plainly followed from miſconduct, naturally brought talents of every kind into action. And the events of the war of 1755 convinced the world, notwithſtanding every *eſtimate* of the *manners* and *principles* of *the times*, that the ſtrength of Great Britain is irreſiſtible, when it is conducted with ſecrecy and diſpatch, with wiſdom and energy.

When Brackenridge was upbraided by Forſter, for making public degrading accounts of our population, at the commencement of the war of 1755, he aſked, juſtly enough, "*What encouragement can it give to the enemy to know, that we have two millions of fighting men in our Britiſh iſlands?*" But we had aſſuredly in our Britiſh iſlands a million more than Brackenridge unwillingly allowed.

The *natural* intereſt of money, which had been *3 per cent.* at the beginning of this reign, never roſe higher than *£.3. 13s. 6d.* at the concluſion of it, after an expenſive courſe of eight years hoſtilities. During the two firſt years of the war, the miniſters borrowed money at *3 per cent.* But, five millions being lent to the adminiſtration in 1757, the lenders required $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* And from the

* See Doddington's Diary, 1755—6—7.

former

former punctuality of government, and preſent eaſe with which taxes were found to pay the ſtipulated intereſt, Great Britain commanded the money of Europe, when the preſſures of war obliged France to ſtop the payment of intereſt on ſome of her funded debts.

Mean time the ſurpluſes of the ſtanding taxes of Great Britain amounted, at the commencement of the war, to one million three hundred thouſand pounds, which, after the reduction of the intereſt of debts in 1757, ſwelled to one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds. And from this vaſt current of income, the more ſcanty ſtreams, which ſlowly flowed from new impoſts, were continually ſupplied.

It is the expences, more than the ſlaughter, of modern war, which debilitate every community. The whole ſupplies granted by Parliament, and raiſed upon the people, during the reign of George II. amounted * to £. 183,976,624.

The ſupplies granted, during the five years of the war, before the deceaſe of that prince, amounted to - - - - £. 54,319,325

The ſupplies voted, during the three firſt years of his ſucceſſor, amounted † to - - - 51,437,314

The principal expences of a war, which, having been undertaken to drive the French from North America, has proved unfortunate in the iſſue - - £. 105,756,639

* Camp. Pol. Sur. vol. ii. p. 551. † Id.

Yet,

Yet, none of the taxes that had been eſtabliſhed, in order to raiſe thoſe vaſt ſums, bore heavy on the induſtrious claſſes, if we except the additional exciſe of three ſhillings a barrel on beer *. And, whatever burdens may have been impoſed, internal induſtry purſued its occupations, and the enterprize of our traders ſent to every quarter of the globe, merchandizes to an extent, beyond all example.

There were exported annually, during the firſt years of the war, ſurpluſes of our land and labour,

* That the conſumption of the great body of the people was not leſſened in conſequence of the war, we may certainly infer from the official details, in the Appendix to The Obſervations on the State of the Nation:

The average of eight years nett produce of the duty on ſoap, &c. ending with 1754	£. 228,114
Ditto - - ending with 1767	264,902
Ditto on candles, - ending with 1754	£. 136,073
Ditto on ditto, - ending with 1767 -	155,716
Ditto on hides, - ending with 1754 -	£. 168,200
Ditto on ditto, - ending with 1767 -	189,216

As no new duties had been laid on the before-mentioned neceſſaries of life, the augmentation of the revenue evinces an increaſe of conſumption; conſequently of comforts; and conſequently of people. In confirmation, let it be conſidered too, that the *hereditary* and *temporary exciſe* produced, according to an eight years average, ending with 1754 - £. 525,317.
Ditto ending with 1767 - - - - 538,542

to the amount of £. 11,708,515 *; which being ſent abroad from time to time, to different markets, as demand required, might have been all applied, (as ſome of them undoubtedly were) in paying the fleets and armies, that ſpread terror over every hoſtile nation.

The Engliſh ſhipping, which after exporting that vaſt cargo might have been employed by government as tranſports, and certainly furniſhed the fleet with a hardy race, amounted to 609,798 tons; which muſt have been navigated, if

we allow twelve men to every 200 tons burden, by - - 36,588 men.

We may determine, with regard to the progreſs and magnitude of the royal navy, from the following ſtatement:

	Tonnage.	Sailors voted by Parliament.	Their wages, &c.
In 1749 -	228,215 -	17,000 -	£. 839,800
1754 -	226,246 -	10,000 -	494,000
1760 -	300,416 -	70,000 -	3,458,000

It is the boaſt of Britain, "that while other countries ſuffered innumerable calamities, during that long period of hoſtilities, this happy iſland eſcaped them all; and cultivated, unmoleſted, her manufactures, her fiſheries, and her commerce, to an amount, which has been the wonder and envy of the world." This flattering picture of Doctor Campbell will, however, appear to be ex-

* There were moreover exported from Scotland, according to an average of 1755—6—7, - - - £. 663,401.

tremely

tremely like the original, from an examination of the ſubſequent details; which are more accurate in their notices, and ſtill more juſt in their concluſions. Compare, then, the following averages of our navigation and traffick, during the ſubjoined years, both of peace and war:

Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1749 50 51	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112
1755 56 57	451,254	73,456	524,711	11,708,515
1760	471,241	112,737	573,978	14,693,270
61	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,194
62	480,444	120,126	600,570	13,546,171

Thus, the year 1756 marked the loweſt point of the depreſſion of commerce; whence it gradually roſe, till it had gained a ſuperiority over the unexampled traffick of the tranquil years 1749-50-51, if we may judge from the value of exports; and almoſt to an equality, if we draw our inferences from the tonnage. The Spaniſh war of 1762 impoſed an additional weight, and we have ſeen the conſequent decline.

When, by the treaty of Paris, entire freedom was again reſtored to foreign commerce, the traders once more ſent out adventures of a ſtill greater amount to every quarter of the globe, though the nation was ſuppoſed to be ſtrained by too great an exertion of its powers. The ſalutary effects of

more extenſive manufactures and a larger trade were inſtantly ſeen in the commercial ſuperiority of the three years following the pacification of 1763, over thoſe enſuing the peace of 1748, tho' theſe have been celebrated juſtly as times of uncommon proſperity. We ſhall be fully convinced of this ſatisfactory truth, if we examine the following proofs:

Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
1749 } 50 } 51 }	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112
1758	389,842	116,002	505,844	12,618,335
1759	406,335	121,016	527,351	13,947,788
1764 } 65 } 66 }	639,872	68,136	708,008	14,925,950

The groſs income of the Poſt-office, foreign and domeſtic, *which*, it is ſaid, *can alone demonſtrate the extent of our correſpondence*, amounted,

In 1754, to - -	£. 210,663
In 1764, to - -	281,535 *.

IT was at this fortunate epoch, that Great Britain, having carried conqueſt over the hoſtile powers of the earth, by her arms, ſaved Europe from bankruptcy, by the ſuperiority of her opulence, and by the diſintereſtedneſs of her ſpirit.

* The account of the Poſt-office revenue is ſtated, by the Annual Regiſter 1773, much higher, miſtakingly.

The

The failures, which happened at Berlin, at Hamburgh, and in Holland, during July 1763, communicated diſmay and diſtruſt to every commercial town, on the European continent *. Wealth, it is ſaid, no longer procured credit, or connection any more gained confidence: The merchants of Europe remained for ſome time in conſternation, becauſe every trader feared for himſelf, amidſt the ruins of the greateſt houſes. It was at this criſis, that the Britiſh traders ſhewed the greatneſs of their capitals, the extent of their credit, and how little they regarded either loſs or gain, while the mercantile world ſeemed to paſs away as a winter's cloud: They truſted correſpondents, whoſe ſituations were extremely unſtable, to a greater amount than they had ever ventured to do, in the moſt proſperous times: And they made vaſt remittances to thoſe commercial cities, where the deepeſt diſtreſs was ſuppoſed to prevail, from the determination of the wealthieſt bankers to ſuſpend the payment of their own acceptances. At this criſis the Bank of England diſcounted bills of exchange to an incredible amount, while every bill was doubted. And the Britiſh government, with a wiſe policy, actuated and ſupported all †.

* See the deſpondent letter from the bankers of Hamburgh to the bankers of Amſterdam, dated the 4th of Auguſt 1763, in the Gentleman's Magazine of this year, p. 422.

† See Conſiderations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom.

On this proud day was publiſhed, however, "*An Alarm to the Stockholders.*" By another writer the nation was remembered of "*the decreaſe of the current coin, as a moſt dangerous circumſtance.*" And by an author, ſtill more conſiderable than either, we were inſtructed—"How the abilities of the country were ſtretched to their utmoſt extent, and beyond their natural tone, whilſt trade ſuffered in proportion: For, the price both of labour and materials was enhanced by the number and weight of the new taxes, and by the extraordinary demand which the ruin of the French navigation brought on Great Britain; whereby rival nations may be now enabled to under-ſell us at foreign markets, and rival us in our own: That both public and private credit were at the ſame time oppreſſed by the rapid increaſe of the national debt, by the ſcarcity of money, and the high rate of intereſt, which aggravated every evil, and affected every money tranſaction."—Such is the melancholic picture, which was exhibited of our ſituation, ſoon after the peace of 1763, by the hand of a maſter *, who probably meant to ſketch a caricature, rather than to draw a portrait.

If, however, the *reſources* of Britain ariſe chiefly from the *labour* of Britain, it may be eaſily ſhewn, that there never exiſted in this iſland ſo many *induſtrious people*, as at the return of peace in 1763. It is not eaſy, indeed, to calculate the numbers, who

* Conſiderations on the Trade and Finances of the Kingdom, p. 3.

die

die in the camp, or in battle, more than would otherwiſe periſh from want, or from vice, in the city or hamlet. It is ſome conſolation, that the laborious claſſes are too wealthy to covet the pittance of the ſoldier, or too independent to court the dangers of the ſailor. And though the forſaken lover, or the reſtleſs vagrant, may look for refuge in the army or the fleet, it may admit of ſome doubt, how far the giving of proper employment to both, may not have freed their pariſhes from diſquietude and from crimes. There is, therefore, no room, to ſuppoſe, that any one left the anvil, or the loom, to follow *the idle trade of war*, during the hoſtilities of 1755, or that there were leſs private income and public circulation, after the reeſtabliſhment of peace, than at any prior epoch. For, it muſt undoubtedly have required a greater number of artificers to produce merchandizes for foreign exportation, after feeding and cloathing the inhabitants, to the value of - - £.14,694,970 - in 1760, than it did to fabricate the value of - 12,599,112 - in 1750. It muſt have demanded a ſtill greater number of hands to work up goods for exportation of the value of - - 16,512,404 - in 1764, than it did to manufacture the value of - 14,873,191 - in 1761.

	Tons of *national* shipping.	
A greater number of ſeamen muſt ſurely have been employed to navigate and repair - - -	471,241	- in 1760,
than - - -	451,254	- in 1756.
And a ſtill greater number to man and repair -	651,402	- in 1765,
than - - -	609,798*	- in 1750.

* It is acknowledged, that Scotland furniſhed a greater number of recruits for the fleets and armies of Britain, during the war of 1755, than England, conſidering the ſmaller number of her fighting men. Yet, by this drain, the induſtrious claſſes ſeem not to have been in the leaſt diminiſhed. For of linen there were made for ſale,

in 1758 - -	10,624,435 yards.
in 1760 - -	11,747,728.

Of the augmentation of the whole products of Scotland during the war, we may judge from the following detail: The value of merchandizes exported from Scotland,

in 1756 - -	£. 663,401
60 - -	1,086,205
64 - -	1,243,927

There were exported yearly, of *Britiſh-manufactured* linens, according to an average of ſeven years of peace, from 1749 to 1755 - - - - - - 576,373 yards.

Ditto, according to an average of ſeven years of ſubſequent war, from 1756 to 1762 1,355,226.

Having thus diſcovered that the ſword had not been put into *uſeful* hands, let us take a view of the great woollen manufactories of England, with an aſpect to the ſame exhilarating ſubject. The value of *woollen goods* exported,

in 1755 - -	£. 3,575,297
57 - -	4,758,095
58 - -	4,673,462
59 - -	5,352,299
60 - -	5,453,172

Yet,

Yet, it muſt be confeſſed, that however *the people* individually may have been employed, *the ſtate* corporately was embarraſſed in no ſmall degree, by the debts, which had been contracted by a war, glorious, but unprofitable. Upwards of fifty-eight millions had been added to our funded debts, before we began to negociate for peace in 1762. When the unfunded debts were afterwards brought to account, and aſſigned an annual intereſt, from a ſpecific fund, the whole debt, which was incurred, by the hoſtilities of 1755, ſwelled to £.72,111,000. And when every claim on the public, for the war's expences, was honeſtly ſatisfied, the national debt amounted to - - - £.146,682,844,

which yielded the creditors, to whom it was due, an annuity of - - - £.4,850,821.

Though it is the intereſt, and not the capital*, that conſtitutes the real debt of *the ſtate*, yet this annuity

* Writers have been carried of late, by their zeal of patriotiſm, to demand the payment of the principal of the debt, though the intereſt be punctually paid; as if the nature of the contract between *the individual* and *the ſtate* had ſtipulated for the payment of both. The fact is, that few lenders, ſince King William's days, have expected repayment of *the capitals*, which they lent to the government. *The ſtocks*, as the public ſecurities of the Britiſh nation are called, may be compared to the money tranſactions of the Bank of Amſterdam, as they have been explained by Sir James Stewart. No man who lodges *treaſure* in this Bank, ever expects to ſee it again: But he may *tranſfer the Bank receipt* for it. The Directors of this

annuity was, doubtleſs, a heavy incumbrance on the land and labour of this iſland: And however burdenſome, it was not the only weight that obſtructed, in whatever degree, the induſtrious claſſes, in adding accumulation to accumulation. The charge of the civil government was then calculated as an expence to the people of a million. And the peace eſtabliſhment, for the army, navy, and miſcellaneous ſervices of leſs amount, though of as much uſe, may be ſtated at three millions and a half, without entering into the controverſy of that changeful day, whether it was a few pounds more, or a few pounds leſs. If it aſtoniſhed Europe to ſee Great Britain borrow, in *one* year, *twelve millions*, and to find taxes to pay the intereſt of ſuch a loan, amidſt hoſtilities of unbounded expence,

this Bank diſcovered from experience, that if the number of *ſellers* of theſe receipts ſhould at any time be greater than the *buyers* of them, the value of *actual treaſure ſafely lodged* would depreciate. And it is ſuppoſed, that theſe prudent managers employ brokers to buy up the Bank receipts, when they begin to fall in their value, from the ſuperabundance of them on 'Change. Apply this rational explanation to the Britiſh funds. No creditor of a *funded debt* can aſk payment of the principal at the Treaſury; but, he may diſpoſe of his ſtock in *the Alley*. The principles, which regulate demand and ſupply, are equally applicable to the Britiſh funds, as to *the treaſure* in the Amſterdam Bank. If there are more ſellers than buyers, the price of ſtocks will fall: If there are more buyers than ſellers, they will as naturally riſe. And the time is now come, when the Britiſh government ought to employ every pound, which can poſſibly be ſaved, in buying up the *principal* of ſuch public debts as preſs the moſt.

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it might have given the European world ſtill higher ideas of the reſources of Britain, to ſee her ſatisfy every claim, and re-eſtabliſh her financial affairs, in no long period after the concluſion of war.

But, the acquiſitions of peace proved, unhappily, more embarraſſing to the collective maſs of an induſtrious nation, than the impoſts, which were conſtantly collected, for paying the intereſt of debts, and the charges of government. The treaty of 1763 retained Canada, Louiſiana, and Florida, on the American continent; the Granades, Tobago, St. Vincent, and Dominica, in the Weſt Indies; and Senegal in Africa. Without regarding other objects, here was a wide field opened for the attention of intereſt, and for the operations of avarice. Every man, who had credit with the miniſters at home, or influence over the governors in the colonies, ran for the prize of American territory. And many land-owners in Great Britain, of no ſmall importance, neglected the poſſeſſions of their fathers, for a portion of wilderneſs, beyond the Atlantic. This was the ſpirit, which formerly debilitated Spain, more than the Peruvian mines; becauſe the Spaniards turned their affections from their country to the Indies. With a ſimilar ſpirit, millions of productive capital were withdrawn from the agriculture, and manufactures, and trade of Great Britain, to cultivate the ceded iſlands, in the other hemiſphere. Domeſtic occupations were obſtructed conſequently, and circulation was ſtopped, in proportion to the

ſtocks

ſtocks withdrawn, to the induſtry enfeebled, and to the ardour turned to leſs ſalutary objects.

While the collective maſs of the people were thus individually injured in their affairs, the ſtate ſuffered equally in its finances. The new acquiſitions required the charge of civil governments, which was provided for in the annual ſupplies, but from taxes on the land and labour of this iſland. To defend theſe acquiſitions, larger and more expenſive military eſtabliſhments became now neceſſary, though our conqueſts did not yield a penny in return *. And an additional drain being thus opened for the circulating money, the opulent men, who generally lend to government, enhanced the price of a commodity, which was thus rendered more valuable, by the inceſſant demands of adventurers, who offered the uſurious intereſt of the Indies †. The coins did not conſequently overflow the coffers of the rich; the price of the public funds did not riſe as at the former peace, when no ſuch drain exiſted; and the government was unable to make bargains for the public, in 1764, equally advantageous, as at the leſs ſplendid epoch of 1750.

In theſe views of an intereſting ſubject, the true objection to the peace of 1763 was not, that

* There were ſome ſmall ſums brought into the annual ſupplies from the ſale of lands in the ceded iſlands.

† It was a wiſe policy, therefore, to encourage foreigners to lend money on the ſecurity of Weſt India eſtates.

we had *retained too little*, but that we had *retained too much*. Had the French been altogether excluded from the fiſheries of Labrador and Newfoundland, and wholly reſtored to every conqueſt, the peace had been perhaps more complete. Whether the miniſters could have juſtified ſuch a treaty, within the walls of Parliament, or without, is a conſideration perſonal to them, and is an object, quite diſtinct in argument. Unhappy! that a Britiſh miniſter, to defend himſelf from clamour, muſt generally act againſt the genuine intereſt of his country.

Fortunate it is, however, for Britain, that there is a ſpirit in her induſtry, an increaſe in the accumulations of her induſtrious claſſes, and a prudence in the economy of her individual citizens, which have raiſed her to greatneſs, and ſuſtain her power, notwithſtanding the waſte of wars, the blunders of treaties, and the tumults in peace. The people proſpered at the commencement of the preſent reign. They proſpered ſtill more, when our colonies revolted. And this moſt energetic nation continues to proſper ſtill.

If this marvellous proſperity ariſes, from the conſciouſneſs of every one, that *his perſon is free* and *his property ſafe*, owing to the ſteady operation of laws, and to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, one of the firſt acts of the preſent reign muſt be allowed to have given additional force to the ſalutary principle. A young Monarch, with

with an attachment to freedom, which merits the commendations that poſterity will not withhold, recommended from the throne to make the judges commiſſions leſs changeful, and their ſalaries more beneficial. The Parliament ſeconded the zeal of their Sovereign, in giving efficacy to a meaſure, which had an immediate tendency to ſecure every right of individuals, and to give ardour to all their purſuits. If we continue a brief review of the laws of the preſent reign, we ſhall probably find, that, whatever may have been neglected, much has been done, for promoting the proſperity and populouſneſs of this iſland.

Agriculture ought to be the great object of our care, becauſe it is the broad foundation of every other eſtabliſhment. Yet, owing in ſome meaſure to the ſcarcity of ſeaſons, but much to the clamour of the populace, we departed, at the end of the late reign, from the ſyſtem which, being formed at the Revolution, is ſaid to have then given verdure to our fields. During every ſeſſion, from the demiſe of George II. a law was paſſed for allowing the importation of ſalt proviſions from Ireland; for diſcontinuing the duties on tallow, butter, hogs-lard, and greaſe from Ireland; till, in the progreſs of our liberality, we made thoſe regulations perpetual, which were before only temporary. We prohibited the export of grain, while we admitted the importation of it; till, in 1773, we ſettled by a compromiſe, between the growers and

and conſumers, a ſtandard of prices, at which both ſhould in future be free *. If by the foregoing meaſures the markets were better ſupplied, the induſtrious claſſes muſt have been more abundantly fed: if prices were forced too low, the farmers, and with them huſbandry, muſt have both equally ſuffered. A ſteady market is for the intereſt of all parties, and ought therefore to be the aim of the legiſlature. On this principle the Parliament ſeems to have acted, when, by repealing the laws againſt engroſſers, it endeavoured, in 1772, to *give a free circulation to the trade in corn.* On the other hand, various laws were paſſed †, for preſerving timber and underwood; for encouraging the culture of ſhrubs and trees, of roots and plants. And additional laws were paſſed for ſecuring the property of the huſbandman in the produce of his fields, and conſequently for giving force to his diligence.

The dividing of commons, the incloſing of waſtes, the draining of marſhes, are all connected with agriculture. Not one law, for any of theſe valuable ends, was paſſed in the warlike reign of King William. During the hoſtilities of Queen Anne one law indeed was enacted. In the reign of George I. ſeventeen laws were enacted for the ſame ſalutary purpoſe. In the three-and-thirty years of George II.'s reign, there were paſſed a

* 10 Geo. III. ch. 39; 13 Geo. III. ch. 43.
† 6 Geo. III. ch. 36—48; 9 Geo. III. ch. 41.

hundred

hundred and eighty-two laws, with the ſame wiſe deſign. But, during the firſt fourteen ſeſſions of the preſent reign, no leſs than ſeven hundred and two acts were obtained, for dividing of commons, incloſing of waſtes, and draining of marſhes. In this manner was more uſeful territory added to the empire, at the expence of individuals, than had been gained by every war ſince the Revolution. In acquiring diſtant dominions, through conqueſt, the ſtate is enfeebled, by the charge of their eſtabliſhments in peace, and by the ſtill more enormous debts, incurred in war, for their defence. In gaining additional lands, by reclaiming the wild, improving the barren, and appropriating the common, you at once extend the limits of our iſland, and make its ſoil more productive. Yet, a certain claſs of writers have been ſtudious to prove, that, by making the common fields more fruitful, the legiſlature has impoveriſhed the poor.

Connected with agriculture too is the making of roads. The highways of Britain were not equal in goodneſs to thoſe of foreign countries, when the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded. From this epoch to the demiſe of George II. great exertions were certainly uſed to ſupply the inconvenient defect. The firſt fourteen ſeſſions of the preſent reign are diſtinguiſhed, not only for collecting the various road-laws into one, but for enacting no fewer than four hundred and fifty-two acts for repairing the highways of different diſtricts. If, by this employment of many hands, nothing

thing was added to the extent of our country, every field, and every village, within it, were brought, by a more eaſy conveyance, nearer to each other.

In the ſame manner canals facilitate agriculture, and promote manufactures, by offering a mode of carriage at once cheaper and more certain. A very early attention had been paid to the navigation of our rivers: from *the Revolution* to the demiſe of George II. many ſtreams had been made navigable. But, a ſtill greater number have been rendered more commodious to commerce, in the preſent reign, excluſive of the yet more valuable improvement of canals. And, during the firſt fourteen ſeſſions of this reign, nineteen acts were paſſed for making artificial navigations, including thoſe ſtupendous works, the Bridgewater, the Trent, and the Forth canals; which, by joining the Eaſtern and Weſtern ſeas, and by connecting almoſt every manufacturing town with the capital, emulate the Roman labours.

In this period too, many of our harbours were enlarged, ſecured, and improved: many of our cities, including the metropolis of our empire and our trade, were paved, cleanſed, and lighted. And, without including the bridges that have been built, and public edifices erected, the foregoing efforts for domeſtic improvement can, with no truth, or propriety, be deemed the works of an inactive age, or of a frivolous people.

If from agriculture we turn our attention to manufactures, we ſhall find many laws enacted for their encouragement, ſome with greater efficacy and ſome with leſs. It was a wiſe policy to procure the *materials* of our manufactures at the cheapeſt rate. A tax was laid on foreign linens, in order to provide a fund, for raiſing hemp and flax at home; while bounties were given on theſe neceſſary articles from our colonies, and the bounty on the exportation of hemp was withdrawn. The impoſts on foreign linen yarn were withdrawn. Bounties were given on Britiſh linen cloth exported; while the making of cambricks was promoted, partly by prohibiting the foreign, and partly by giving freſh incentives, though without ſucceſs, to the manufacture of cambricks within our iſland. Indigo, cochineal, and log-wood, the neceſſaries of dyers, were allowed to be freely imported. And the duty on oak-bark imported was lowered, in order to accommodate the tanners. It is to be lamented, that the ſtate of the public debts does not admit the abolition of every tax on materials of manufacture, of whatever country: this would be a meaſure ſo much wiſer, than giving prohibitions againſt foreign manufactures, which never fail to bring with them the miſchiefs of monopoly; a worſe commodity, at a higher price.

The importation of ſilks and velvets of foreign countries was however prohibited, while the wages and combinations of ſilk-weavers were reſtrained, though

though the price of the goods was not regulated, in favour of every conſumer. The workers in leather were equally favoured, by ſimilar means. The plate-glaſs manufacture was encouraged, by erecting a corporation for carrying it on. The making of utenſils from gold and ſilver was favoured, by appointing wardens to detect every fraud. And the law, which had been made, during the penury of King William's days, for preventing innkeepers from uſing any other plate than ſilver ſpoons, was repealed in 1769, when we had made a very extenſive progreſs in the acquiſition of wealth, and in the taſte for enjoying it.

The moſt ancient ſtaple of this iſland was, by prudent regulations in the fabricks of wool, ſent to foreign markets, better in quality, and at a lower price.

General induſtry was incited by various means, which probably had their effect. Apprentices, and workers for hire, were placed under the juriſdiction of magiſtrates, who were empowered to enforce by correction the performance of contracts. Sobriety was at the ſame time preſerved, by reſtraining the retail of ſpirituous liquors. But, above all, that law muſt have been attended with the moſt powerful effect, which was made "for the more effectual preventing of abuſes by perſons employed in the manufacture of hats, woollen, linen, fuſtian, cotton, iron, leather, fur, hemp, flax, mohair, and ſilk; for reſtraining un-

lawful combinations of every one working in ſuch manufactures; and for the better payment of their wages." This law muſt be allowed to contain the moſt powerful incitements of the human heart; when we conſider too, that the aſſize of bread was at the ſame time regulated.

If from a review of manufactures we inſpect our ſhipping, we ſhall perceive regulations equally uſeful. The whale-fiſheries of the river St. Lawrence and Greenland were encouraged by bounties, together with the white herring fiſhery along the coaſts of our iſland. Foreigners were excluded, by additional penalties, from holding ſhares in Britiſh ſhips. And oak-timber was preſerved, by new laws, for the uſe of the royal navy. The voyages of diſcovery, which do ſo much honour to the preſent reign, though they did not proceed from any act of the legiſlature, may be regarded as highly beneficial to navigation, whether we conſider the improvement of nautical ſcience, or the preſervation of the mariner's health.

But, all theſe encouragements had been given in vain, had not the courſe of circulation been kept full and current, and the coin timefully reformed. New modes were preſcribed by Parliament for the recovery of ſmall debts in particular diſtricts. Additional remedies were adminiſtered for recovering payment on bills and other mercantile ſecurities in Scotland. And the iſſuing of the notes of bankers was rendered more commodious and ſafe.

ſafe. The importation of the light ſilver coin of this realm was prohibited ; and what was of more importance, every tender of Britiſh ſilver coin, in the payment of any ſum more than five-and-twenty pounds, otherwiſe than by weight, at five ſhillings and two pence per ounce, was declared unlawful. This admirable principle, ſo juſt in its theory, and ſo wiſe in its practice, was, about the ſame time, applied to the gold coin. And the gold coins were recalled, and re-coined to an unexpected amount, and ordered to paſs current by weight. This meaſure, which does equal honour to the contriver, to the adviſer, and to the executor, has been attended with all the ſalutary effects, that were foretold, as to our domeſtic circulation, our foreign trade, and to our *money-exchanges* with the commercial world.

The laws, which were thus paſſed, from the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the æra of the colonial revolt, had produced the moſt beneficial effects on our agriculture and manufactures, on our commerce and navigation, had not the energetic ſpirit, that actuated our affairs at the peace of 1763, continued to incite the induſtrious claſſes, and to accumulate their daily acquiſitions. If any one chooſes to appeal from general reaſonings to particular facts, let him examine the following proofs :

Years.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
1764	Tons Engliſh.	Do foreign.	Total.	£.
65	639,872	68,136	708,008	14,925,950
66				
1772				
73	795,943	64,232	860,175	15,613,003
74				

Thus, our navigation had gained, in the intervenient period, more than a hundred and fifty thouſand tons a year, and our foreign traffic had riſen almoſt a million in annual worth. The groſs revenue of the poſt-office, which, ariſing from a greater or leſs correſpondence, forms, according to Anderſon, a *politico-commercial index*, amounted

in 1764 - to - £. 281,535,
in 1774* - to - 345,321.

Yet, proſperous as our affairs had been, during the ſhort exiſtence of the peace of 1763, they were repreſented, by an analogous ſpirit to that of 1738, either of deſigning faction, or of uninformed folly, as in an *alarming ſituation*. The ſtate of things, it was ſaid, is approaching to an awful criſis. The *navigation* and *commerce*, by which we roſe to power and opulence, *are much on the decline*. Our taxes are numerous and heavy, and proviſions are dear. An enormous na-

* But the franking of letters had been now regulated, and other improvements had been meantime made.

tional

tional debt threatens the ruin of public credit. Luxury has ſpread its baneful influence among all ranks of people; yet, luxury is neceſſary to raiſe a revenue to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. Our labouring poor are forced by hard neceſſity to ſeek that comfortable ſubſiſtence in diſtant climes, which their induſtry at home cannot procure them. And the mother-country holds the rod over her children, the colonies, and, by her threatening aſpect, is likely to drive them to deſperate meaſures *.

WHEN, owing to the native habits and acquired confidence of her colonies; to the ancient neglects, and continued indulgence of Britain; to the incitements of party-men, and to the imbecility of rulers; the nation found herſelf at length obliged to enter into a ſerious conteſt with her tranſatlantic provinces, ſhe happily enjoyed all the advantages of a buſy manufacture, of a vigorous commerce, of a moſt extenſive navigation, and of a productive revenue. Of theſe animating truths we ſhall receive ſufficient conviction, by examining the following particulars:

After liquidating every claim ſubſequent to the peace of 1763, and funding every debt, by aſſigning an half-yearly intereſt for every principal,

* See Gent. Mag. 1774, p. 313, &c.

the public enjoyed an annual ſurplus from the public impoſts of two millions two hundred thouſand pounds, in 1764. From 1765 to 1770, this ſinking fund accumulated to £. 2,266,246. And from 1770 to 1775, the ſurpluſes of all our taxes amounted annually to the vaſt ſum of £. 2,651,455; which having riſen, in 1775 and 1776, to three millions and upwards, proved a never-failing reſource, amid the financial embarraſſments of the enſuing war. Theſe facts alone furniſh the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of the great conſumption of the collective maſs of the people, and of their ability to conſume, from their active labours and accumulating opulence.

Yet, during the proſperous period of the peace, there were only diſcharged of the capital of the national debt - - - £. 10,739,793.

And there remained, notwithſtanding every diminution, when the war of the colonies began, in 1775 - - - - £. 135,943,051;

Whereon was paid to the public creditors an annuity of - £. 4,440,821.*

The ſtock of the Bank of England roſe mean while from 113 *per cent.* in July 1764, to 143 *per cent.* in July 1774: and diſcounts on the bills of the navy fell from 6 ½ *per cent.* at the firſt epoch, to 1 ⅛ at the ſecond. The reform of the coin turned the nominal exchanges on the ſide of

* Dr. Price, and Mr. Sinclair.

Britain,

Britain, which were in fact favourable before hoſtilities began, owing to the flouriſhing ſtate of our trade, and the advantageous courſe of our general payments. And the price of bullion fell, becauſe the ſupply was ſuperior to the demand. From the foregoing notices, an able ſtateſman might have inferred beforehand, that Great Britain never poſſeſſed ſuch reſources for a vigorous war. And this truth may be aſſerted without fear of contradiction, and without appealing to the immenſity of ſubſequent ſupplies, for unanſwerable proofs of *the fact*.

The ſurplus produce of the land and labour of England alone, which, being exported to foreign countries, might have been applied to the uſes of war, amounted to £. 15,613,003, according to an average of the years 1772—3—4 *.

The Britiſh ſhipping, which were chiefly employed in exporting this immenſe cargo, and which were eaſily converted into tranſports, to armed ſhips, and to privateers, amounted annually to 795,943 tons: and this extenſive nurſery furniſhed the royal navy with mariners of unequalled ſkill and bravery, during a naval war, in the laſt year of which, the Parliament voted a hundred and ten thouſand ſeamen.

We may calculate from the continual progreſs in population, ariſing from additional employ-

* There was moreover ſent by ſea from Scotland, at the ſame time, an annual cargo of the value of £. 1,515,025, if we may believe the Cuſtom-houſe books.

ments,

ments, that there were in this iſland, at the epoch of the colonial revolt, full 2,350,000 fighting men.

By examining the following details, we ſhall acquire ideas ſufficiently preciſe of the royal navy, both before and after the war of the colonies began :—

The royal fleet carried in 1754 — 226,246 tons.
in 1760 — 300,416.
in 1774 — 276,046.

Of the king's ſhips, exiſting in 1774, ſeveral were found, on the day of trial, unfit for actual ſervice. By an effort, however, which Britain alone could have made, there were added to the royal navy, during ſix years of war, from 1775 to 1781 :—

	Veſſels.		Guns.		Tons.
Of the line, with fifties,	44	carrying	3,002	and	56,144
Twenties to forty-fours,	110	—	3,331	—	53,350
Sloops - -	160	—	2,555	—	37,160
	314		8,888		146,654

By a ſimilar effort, during ſix years of the Revolution-war, England was only able to add to her naval force 11,368 tons. And thus was there a greater fleet fitted out, during the uncommon embarraſſments of the colony-war, than King William, or Queen Anne, or even than King George I. perhaps ever poſſeſſed. Of ſeveral of theſe we were unhappily deprived, either by the misfortunes incident to navigation, or by the good

fortune of our enemies. Yet, we had in commiſſion, in January 1783, the fleet, whoſe power will be moſt clearly perceived from the following detail*; when it is remembered, that there were voted for the ſervice of this year a hundred and ten thouſand ſeamen.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
20 of	80 to 108	carrying 15,372
44 of	74	26,112
45 of	60 to 68	24,320
18 of	50	5,468
64 Frigates above	30	13,765
51 Ditto under	30	8,581
110 Sloops of	18, and under,	11,360
15 Fireſhips and bombs.		
26 Armed ſhips, hired.		
393 – Navigated by		104,978

Such was the naval force of Great Britain, which, after a violent ſtruggle, broke, in the end, the conjoined fleets of France, Spain, and Holland. The privateers of Liverpool, which have been already ſtated, alone formed a greater fleet than the armed colonies were ever able to equip. Owing to what fatality,

* The above ſtatement, though in a different form, was officially laid before the Houſe of Commons, at the debate on *the peace*. Beſides the ſhips in the liſt of the Navy-board, there were ſeventeen, from 60 to 98 guns, ready to be commiſſioned. Steel ſtates, in his Naval Chronology, the force of

fatality, or to what cauſe, it was, that the vaſt ſtrength of Britain did not beat down the colonial inſurgents, not in one campaign, but in three, it is the buſineſs of hiſtory to explain. It may be meantime obſerved, that a war carried on in *jeſt*, without any *deſirable* object, ought naturally to meet obſtructions, and to end in diſappointment.

It is now time to enquire into the loſſes of our trade from the war of thoſe colonies, which had been planted and nurſed with a mother's care, for the excluſive benefit of our commerce.

If it was not much interrupted by the privateers of the malcontents, we loſt whole mercantile fleets to our enemies. And it muſt be admitted, that in the courſe of no war, ſince that of the Revolution, were our ſhipping ſo much deranged, or our traffic ſo far driven from its uſual channels.

of the fleets of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, at the end of the war, as under:

	Of the line.		Guns.
Britiſh ſhips - - -	145	carrying	10,132
Deduct thoſe wanting repairs,	28	—	1,948
Britiſh effective - -	117	—	8,184
French - - -	82	—	5,842
Spaniſh - -	67	—	4,720
Dutch - - -	33	—	2,006
	182	—	12,574
Deduct thoſe wanting repairs,	49	—	2,928
More than Great Britain -	16	—	1,462

But,

But, we ſhall ſee the preciſe ſtate of both, by attending to the following details:

	Years.	Ships cleared outwards. Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Value of cargoes. £.
In the peaceful	1772, 73, 74	795,943	64,232	860,175	15,613,003
American war	1775, 76, 77	760,798	73,234	834,032	13,861,818
French war	1778	657,238	98,113	755,351	11,551,070
Spaniſh war	1779	590,911	139,124	730,035	12,693,430
	1780	619,462	134,515	753,977	11,622,333
Dutch war	1781	547,953	163,410	711,363	10,569,187
	1782	552,851	208,511	761,362	12,355,750

If we review this ſatisfactory evidence, we ſhall probably find, that there were annually employed, when the colony-war began, more than one hundred and fifty thouſand tons of Britiſh ſhipping, than had been yearly employed during the proſperous years 1764—5—6; and that we annually exported of merchandizes, in the firſt-mentioned period more than in the laſt, little leſs than a million in value: That the colonial conteſt little affected our foreign commerce, if we may judge from the decreaſed ſtate of our ſhipping*; but, if we draw our inference from the diminiſhed value of exported cargoes, we ſeem to have loſt £. 1,751,190 a year; which formed, probably, the real amount of the uſual export to the diſcontented provinces: And the inconſiderable decreaſe in the numbers of our outward ſhipping, with the

* There were entered inwards of ſhips belonging to the revolted colonies, 34,587 tons, according to an average of the years 1771—2—3—4.

fall

fall in the value of manufactures, whereof their cargoes conſiſted, juſtify a ſhrewd remark of Mr. Eden's, " that, in the latter period, it may be doubted, whether the dexterity of exporters, which, in times of regular trade, occaſions oſtentatious entries, may not, in many inſtances, have operated to under-valuations." It was the alarm created by the interference of France, that firſt interrupted our general commerce, though our navigation and trade, in 1778, were ſtill a good deal more, than the average of both, in 1755—6—7. The proſperity of our foreign traffic, during the war of 1755, at leaſt from the year 1758, is a fact, in our commercial annals, which has excited the amazement of the world. Yet, let us fairly contraſt both our ſhipping and our trade, great as they were aſſuredly, during the firſt period, and little as they have been ſuppoſed to be, during the laſt:

	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
Years.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	£.
1758	389,842	116,002	505,844	12,618,335
1778	657,238	98,113	755,351	11,551,070
1759	406,335	121,016	527,351	13,947,788
1779	590,911	139,124	730,035	12,693,430
1760	471,241	102,737	573,978	14,639,970
1780	619,462	134,515	753,977	11,622,333
1761	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,191
1781	547,953	163,410	711,363	10,569,187
1762	480,444	120,126	600,570	13,545,171
1782	552,851	208,511	761,362	12,355,750

What

What had occurred from the interruptions of all our foregoing wars, equally occurred from the ſtill greater embarraſſments of the colony-war. Temporary defalcations were, in the ſame manner, ſaid to be infallible ſymptoms of a fatal decline. In the courſe of former hoſtilities, we have ſeen our navigation and commerce preſſed down to a certain point, whence both gradually roſe, even before the return of peace removed the incumbent preſſure. All this an accurate eye may perceive, amid the commercial diſtreſſes of the laſt war. There was an evident tendency in our traffic to riſe in 1779, till the Spaniſh war impoſed an additional burden. There was a ſimilar tendency in 1780, till the Dutch war added, in 1781, no inconſiderable weight. And the year 1781, accordingly, marks the loweſt degree of depreſſion, both of our navigation and our commerce, during the war of our colonies. But, with the ſame vigorous ſpirit, they both equally roſe, in 1782, as they had riſen in former wars, to a ſuperiority over our navigation and commerce, during the year, wherein hoſtilities with France began.

We have beheld, too, on the return of complete peace, the ſpring of our traffic rebound with mighty force. A conſiderate eye may ſee this in 1783 and 1784, though the burdens of war were then removed with a much more tardy hand. Twenty years before, the preliminaries of peace were ſettled, in November 1762, and the definitive treaty with France and Spain was ſigned on the

the tenth of February thereafter: ſo that complete tranquillity was reſtored early in 1763. But, owing to the greater number and variety of belligerent powers, the laſt peace was fully eſtabliſhed by much ſlower ſteps. The proviſional articles were ſettled with the ſeparated colonies in November 1782. The preliminaries with France and Spain were adjuſted in January 1783. The definitive treaty with both, and with the United States of America, was ſigned on the third of September 1783. Though an armiſtice was agreed on with Holland, in February 1783, preliminaries were not ſettled till September thereafter, yet the definitive treaty was not ſigned till the twenty-fourth of May 1784. And with Tippoo Saib, who was no mean antagoniſt, peace was not concluded till March 1784. It was not however till July 1784, that we offered thanks to the Almighty, for reſtoring to a haraſſed, *though not an exhauſted nation*, the greateſt bleſſing, which the Almighty can beſtow.

To theſe dates, and to theſe circumſtances, we muſt carefully attend, in forming comparative eſtimates of our navigation and commerce, of the price of the public ſtocks, or of the progreſs of our financial operations. With theſe recollections conſtantly in our mind, we ſhall be able to form ſome accurate reflections, from the following details:

Epochs.	Ships cleared outwards.			Value of cargoes.
	Tons Eng.	Do foreign.	Total.	£.
1749 50 51	609,798 –	51,386 –	661,184 –	12,599,112
1764 65 66	639,872 –	68,136 –	708,008 –	14,925,950
1772 73 74	795,943 –	64,232 –	860,175 –	15,613,003
1783	795,669 –	157,969 –	953,638 –	13,851,671
84	846,355 –	113,064 –	959,419 –	14,171,375

If we examine the ſubjoined ſtate of the Poſt-office revenue, we ſhall find ſupplemental proofs. The *groſs* income of *the poſts* amounted, in the year, ending the 25 March 1755, to - £. 210,663,
the 5 April 1765, to - 281,535,
the 5 April 1775, to - 345,321,
the 5 April 1784, to - 452,404.

The foregoing ſtatements will ſurely furniſh every honeſt mind with comfortable thoughts. From theſe accurate details we perceive, with ſufficient conviction, how ſuperior both our navigation and our commerce were, in 1783 and 1784, when peace had ſcarcely returned, to the extent of both, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, an epoch of boaſted proſperity. We employed in our traffic, in the year 1784, THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND TONS more than we employed, according to an average of 1749—50—51, *excluſive of the ſhipping of Scotland*, to no ſmall amount. Of *Britiſh* ſhips,

we happily employed, in 1784, TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND TONS, more than our navigation employed in 1764, though the veſſels of our revolted colonies, amounting yearly to 35,000 tons, had been juſtly excluded from our traffic, in the laſt period, but not in the firſt: The value of exported cargoes from *England* was, at both epochs, nearly equal; though 1784 can ſcarcely be called a complete year of peace, and every induſtrious people had been admitted within the circle of a commerce, which we had almoſt ruined *the ſtate*, to make excluſively ours. The value of our exportations, in 1784, was not indeed equal to the amount of our exports in 1764, but they were ſuperior to the value of exported cargoes in 1766, 1767, and 1769 *. If we compare 1784, when we had hardly recovered from a war, avowedly carried on againſt commerce, with 1774, when we had enjoyed uncommon proſperity during ſeveral years of peace, we ſhall ſee no cauſe of apprehenſion, but many reaſons of hope; the number of Britiſh ſhips was much greater, in 1784, than they had been in 1774, after we had wiſely excluded the American veſſels from the protection of the Britiſh flag, of which the revolted coloniſts had ſhewn themſelves unworthy. The value of cargoes exported at both periods are ſo nearly equal, as not to merit much conſideration, far leſs to excite our fears.

Yet the government was about the ſame time

* See the Chronological Table for a proof of *the fact*.

confidently

confidently told *, that unleſs the American ſhipping were allowed to be our carriers, our traffic muſt ſtop for want of tranſports: And the nation, for years, had been factiouſly informed, that the independence of the malecontent colonies muſt prove, at once, the deſtruction of our commerce, and the downfall of our power.

It was the prevalence of this ſentiment, that chiefly generated the colony war, ſo productive of many evils, which, like the other evils of life, have brought with them a happy portion of good. Yet, the fallacy of this ſentiment had been previouſly ſhewn, and the effects of the abſolute independence of our tranſatlantic provinces had been clearly foretold. Experience has at length decided *the fact*. For, by comparing the exports to the *diſcontented colonies*, before the war began, with the exports to *the United States*, after the admiſſion of their independence, it will appear, from the following detail, that we now ſupply them with manufactures to a greater amount, than even in the moſt proſperous times: Thus,

	Exports.	Imports.
In 1771, 72, 73 —	£. 3,064,843 —	£. 1,322,532;
In 1784 —	3,359,864 † —	701,189.

Yet, the exportations of the years 1771—2—3 were beyond example great, becauſe the coloniſts

* By the Committee of Weſt-India Merchants, in 1783.

† From the Cuſtom-houſe books.

were even then preparing for ſubſequent events, and the exporters were induced to make their entries at the cuſtom-houſe, partly by their vanity, perhaps as much by their factiouſneſs. We may reaſonably hope then, to hear no more of our having loſt the American commerce, by the independence of the United States. From the epoch that we have met induſtrious competitors in their ports, we have had too much reaſon to complain of having rather traded too much with a people, who attempt to be great traders without great capitals.

Connected with the American trade is the Newfoundland fiſhery. Of this Doctor Price aſſerts, in his uſual ſtyle of depreciation and deſpondence, that *we ſeem to have totally loſt it*. The ſubjoined detail, by eſtabliſhing ſome authentic facts, will give riſe, however, to more animating concluſions. Contraſt the Newfoundland fiſhery, as it was annually ſtated, ſubſequent to the peace of 1763, by Admiral Palliſer, and as it was equally repreſented, after the peace of 1783, by Admiral Campbell:

COMPARATIVE STATE *of the* NEWFOUNDLAND FISHERY.

	In 1764 - 1784 —	1765 - 1785
There were Britiſh *fiſhing* ſhips -	141 - 236 —	177 - 292
Britiſh *trading* ſhips -	97 - 60 —	116 - 85
Colony ſhips - - -	205 - 50 —	104 - 58
Tonnage of Britiſh *fiſhing* ſhips -	14,819 - 22,535 —	17,268 - 26,528
of Britiſh *trading* ſhips -	11,924 - 6,297 —	14,353 - 9,202
of *Colony* ſhips - - -	13,837 - 4,202 —	6,927 - 6,260
Quintals of fiſh carried to foreign markets - - - - -	470,188 - 497,884 —	493,654 - 591,276

Thus,

Thus, by excluding the fiſhers of the revolted colonies, we enjoy at preſent a more extenſive fiſhery for the mariners of Great Britain, who, being ſubject to our influence, or our power, may eaſily be brought into action, when their efficacious aid becomes the moſt neceſſary. From thoſe colonies a hundred and fifteen ſloops and ſchooners uſed annually to bring cargoes of rum, melaſſes, bread, flour, and other proviſions, to Newfoundland, for which the coloniſts were paid in bills of exchange on Britain *. To acquire this traffic for Britiſh merchants is alone a conſiderable advantage, which we derive from the independence of the United States. About twelve huudred ſailors were accuſtomed to emigrate, every ſeaſon, from Newfoundland to the ſeparated colonies; where, whatever they might gain, their uſefulneſs to Britain was loſt. This drain, which is now ſhut up, is perhaps a ſtill greater benefit.

Our Greenland fiſhery, which gives employment to ſo many uſeful people, both by land and ſea, has been equally promoted by the abſolute independence of the United States; as their oil and other marine productions no longer enter into competition with our own. Thus, there ſailed to the Greenland ſeas;

* Admiral Palliſer's official report.

	Years.	Ships.		Years.	Ships.
From England in	1772 -	50	— in	1782 -	38
	1773 -	55	—	1783 -	47
	1774 -	65	—	1784 -	89
	1775 -	96	—	1785 -	140
From Scotland	-	-	—	1785 -	13
					153

From this accurate detail we perceive, then, how much this important fiſhery flouriſhes, which had been heretofore depreſſed by various competitors*.

Yet, the malecontent coloniſts, who had long been the active competitors of their fellow-ſubjects in Great Britain, were accuſtomed to think, that this iſland could not exiſt without the gains of their commerce. Foreign powers equally thought, that they could ruin the affairs of Great Britain, by contributing to *their* independence. And to this ſource alone may be traced up one of the chief cauſes of the colony war and of the interference of foreigners. But, were we to ſearch the annals of mankind, we ſhould not find an example of hoſtilities, which being commenced in oppoſition to the genuine intereſt of the belligerent parties, were continued for years in contradiction to common ſenſe.

* The Britiſh fiſhery to Greenland has gained a manifeſt ſuperiority over that of the Dutch, which was once ſo conſiderable. In 1781 and 1782 the Dutch ſent no ſhips to the Greenland ſeas:

And in 1783 only 55 ſhips.
in 1784 - 59
in 1785 - 65

The

The leaders of the malecontents ſeem at length diſpoſed to admit, that being hurried on by paſſion, they ſacrificed their commerce and their happineſs to factious prejudices and to unmeaning words. Had they been ſufficiently acquainted with their own intereſts, and governed by any prudence, they might, before the war began, have retained a participation in Britiſh privileges, and the protection of Britiſh power, by verbally admitting, that they were the fellow-ſubjects of the Britiſh people, without being really incumbered with any burden. And they might have thereby gained the preſent independence of Ireland, with the invaluable participations of Ireland; which, to eſtimate juſtly, we ought only to ſuppoſe retracted for a ſeaſon, or even loſt for a day.

It is, indeed, fortunate for us, that the French were ſo much blinded, by the ſplendour of giving independence to the Britiſh colonies, as not to ſee diſtinctly how much their interpoſition and their aid promoted the real advantage of Great Britain. When the colony-war began, the true intereſt of France conſiſted in protracting the entanglements, which neceſſarily reſulted from the virtual dependence of thirteen diſtant communities, claiming ſeparate and ſovereign rights; and which had continued to enfeeble the Britiſh government by their pretenſions, their clamours, and their oppoſition, till the diſſatisfied provincials had, in the fulneſs of time, ſeparated themſelves, without any effort on their part, or any ſtruggle on the ſide of Great Britain. From theſe embarraſſments the French have how-

ever freed, by their impolicy, the rival nation. And they have even conferred on the people, whom they wiſhed to depreſs, actual ſtrength, by reſtoring, unconſciouſly, the ſhip-building, the freights, and the fiſheries; of which the coloniſts had too much partaken, and which, with other facilities, have reſulted to the mother country from the abſolute independence of the American ſtates.

Spain, perhaps, as little attended to her genuine intereſts, when ſhe lent her aid to the aſſociated powers, which enabled the revolted colonies to take their free and equal ſtation among the ſovereign nations of the earth. She might have truſted to the hopes and fears of a Britiſh Miniſter, for the ſecurity of her tranſatlantic empire. But, within the American States, where can ſhe place her truſt? The citizens of theſe ſtates have already, with their uſual enterprize, penetrated to the banks of the Miſſiſippi. And this active people even now bound on Louiſiana and Mexico; and may, even now, by intrigue, or force, ſhake the fidelity, or acquire the opulence, of theſe extenſive territories.

When the Dutch, by departing from their uſual caution, interpoſed in the quarrel, every intelligent European perceived, that the diſcontented colonies muſt neceſſarily be independent. And it was equally apparent, that every advantage of their traffic muſt have ſoon been acquired, by the more induſtrious nations, without the riſque of unneighbourly interference, and ſtill more, without the charge of actual hoſtilities.

When

When all parties became at length weary of a war, which had thus been carried on contrary to their genuine intereſts, a peace was made. Whatever advantages of commerce, or of revenue, may have reſulted from this memorable event to the other belligerent powers, certain it is, that though Great Britain contracted vaſt debts, and loſt many lives in the conteſt, ſhe derived from the independence of the American States many benefits, excluſive of *peace*, the greateſt of all benefits.

Had Great Britain, like Spain, received any public revenue from her tranſatlantic territories, ſhe had doubtleſs loſt this income by the independence of her Colonies. If Great Britain has thereby loſt ſovereignty without juriſdiction, ſhe has freed herſelf from the charges of protecting an extenſive coaſt, without deducting any thing from her naval ſtrength; ſince the colony ſailors were protected by poſitive ſtatute * from being forced into the public ſervice. While this nation has ſaved the annual expence of great military and civil eſtabliſhments, it can hardly be ſaid to have loſt any commercial profits. And, by excluding the citizens of the United States from their accuſtomed participation in the gainful buſineſs of ſhip-building, freights, and fiſhery, Great Britain has, in fact, made conſiderable additions to her

* The 6th Anne, which had conferred the above-mentioned exemption, was indeed repealed at the commencement of the war, by the 15 Geo. III. ch. 31. § 19.

naval

naval power. Thus, the means, which were uſed to enfeeble this country, have actually augmented its ſtrength, whatever may have been the fate of the other belligerent parties.

It muſt be admitted, however, that the Britiſh government contracted immenſe debts, by carrying on the late moſt expenſive war. When theſe were brought to account, in October 1783, the whole debts, payable at the Exchequer, amounted to £. 212,302,429, capital; whereon were paid £. 8,012,061 *, as intereſt and charges of management. For the payment of this annuity the legiſlature had provided funds, which, it muſt be allowed, did not produce a revenue equal to previous expectation, or to ſubſequent neceſſity. And, burdenſome as theſe debts undoubtedly were, they had little embarraſſed general circulation, had this principal and this annuity formed the only claims on the public, owing to the Colony-war.

But, every war leaves many unliquidated claims, the more diſtreſsful to individuals and the ſtate, as theſe unfunded debts float in the ſtock-market at great diſcount; as they depreciate the value of all public ſecurities; and as, from theſe circumſtances, they obſtruct the financial operations of government, and prevent private perſons from borrowing for the moſt uſeful purpoſes. Of ſuch unfunded debts there floated in the market,

* The Exchequer account, as publiſhed by the commiſſioners of public accounts.

in October 1783, no leſs than £. 18,856,542; of which £. 15,694,112 were ſo far liquidated as to carry an intereſt, that continually augmented the capitals, excluſive of other claims, equally cogent, but of leſs amount.

The public ſecurities, which always riſe in value on the return of peace, gradually fell, when theſe vaſt debts were expoſed to the world in exaggerated figures; when the ſtockholders were terrified by declamations on the defects of their ſecurity, which is, in fact, equal to the ſtability of the Britiſh State; and when all claimants on the public were daily aſſured of a truth, which had then too much exiſtence, that the annual income of the public was not equal to the annual expenditure. The nation was mortified, at the ſame time, by the events of a war, the miſmanagements and expences of which had made peace abſolutely neceſſary. And the government was at once enfeebled, by diſtractions, and unhinged, by the competitions of the great for pre-eminence and power.

It was at this criſis of unuſual difficulty, that the preſent miniſter was called into office, nearly as much by the ſuffrages of his country, as by the appointment of his ſovereign.

Were we to inſtitute a compariſon of the ſtate of the nation, in 1764 and 1765, with that of 1784 and 1785, we ſhould be enabled to form a proper judgment, not only of the incumbrances and reſources of the Britiſh government, but of the meaſures,

ſures, which were at both periods adopted for diſcharging our debts by applying our means.

The war of 1755 augmented the public debt £. 72,111,004;
of 1775 - - - - 110,279,341.

In 1764, the *unfunded* debts, including German claims, navy and ordnance debt, army extraordinaries, deficiencies of grants and funds, exchequer bills, and a few ſmaller articles, amounted to - - - - - - - - £. 9,975,018;
In 1784, the *unfunded* debts, including every article of the ſame kind, amounted to - - - 24,585,157.

The navy bills ſold, in 1764, at $9\frac{5}{8}$ *per cent.* diſcount; in 1784, at 20 *per cent.* The value of 3 *per cent.* conſolidated ſtocks, from which the moſt accurate judgment of all ſtocks may be formed, was in 1764 at 86 *per cent.* but, in 1784, the value may be calculated at 54 *per cent.* In the firſt period, our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, were ſaid to be in the moſt proſperous conditon; in the laſt, to be almoſt undone.

With the foregoing data before us, we ſhall be able, without any minute calculations, or tedious inquiry, to form an adequate judgment of the reſources of the nation, and of the conduct of miniſters, in applying theſe reſources to the public ſervice, at the concluſion of our two laſt wars.

In 1764—65, there were paid off and provided for * - - - - £. 6,192,059;
In 1784—85 - - - † 28,139,448.

There remained unprovided for

	in 1765,	—	in 1785.
German claims	£. 156,044	—	£.
Navy debt -	2,426,915	—	
Exchequer bills -	1,800,000	—	4,500,000
Total in both	£. 4,382,959*	—	£. 4,500,000

But, let us carry this compariſon one ſtep farther. There were paid off and provided for (as we have ſeen) in 1764 and 65, of *unfunded* debts £. 6,192,159.
There were afterwards paid off before 1776 - - 10,739,793.

Total paid off in eleven years - £. 16,931,952.
There were paid off and provided for in two years, 1784—85 - 28,139,448.

* Conſid. on trade and finances, p. 41.

† The following are the particulars, from the annual grants and appropriation acts:

Debts funded in 1784, - - -	£. 6,879,342.
Debts paid off and otherwiſe provided for, in 1784, - - - -	5,728,615.
Debts funded, in 1785, - -	10,990,651.
Debts paid off and otherwiſe provided for, in 1785, - - - -	4,540,840.
Total of debts paid off, funded, and otherwiſe provided for, in 1784—85. - -	£. 28,139,448.

Yet,

Yet, from this laſt ſum muſt be deducted the £. 4,500,000 of Exchequer bills, which, being continued at the end of 1785, were either circulated by the Bank, or were in the courſe of public buſineſs lockt up in the Exchequer. Thoſe bills indeed, that paſſed into circulation, were of real uſe to the Bank, and to individuals, without depreciating funded property, as they continually paſſed from hand to hand at a premium.

There was no purpoſe, when the foregoing compariſons were inſtituted, of exalting the character of the preſent miniſter for wiſdom and energy, by the degradation of any of his predeceſſors. The able men, who managed the national finances from 1763 to 1776, acted like all former ſtateſmen, from the circumſtances wherein they were placed, and probably made as great exertions in diſcharging the national debts, as the ſpirit of the times admitted. Greater efforts have, ſince the laſt peace, been made, becauſe every wiſe man declared, that there was no effectual mode of ſecuring all that the nation holds dear, than by making the public income larger than the public expenditure. The before-mentioned operations of finance, in 1784 and 85, it had been impoſſible to perform, without impoſing many taxes, which all parties demanded as neceſſary. Were any defence required for a conduct, which, if the faithful diſcharge of duty, at no ſmall riſque of perſonal credit, is laudable, merits the greateſt praiſe, the previous

vious neceſſity would furniſh ample juſtification.

What had occurred at the concluſion of every war ſince the revolution, happened in a ſtill greater degree ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of the laſt peace. Let us make haſte to lighten the public debts, which ſo much enfeeble the ſtate, and embarraſs individuals, was the univerſal cry. It was the judgment of the wiſeſt men, that, conſidering the magnitude of the national incumbrances, theſe debts could neither be paid off, nor greatly leſſened, except by a ſinking-fund, which ſhould be invariably applied to this moſt uſeful purpoſe. And, great as the national debts were, amounting to £. 239,154,880 principal, which, for intereſt and charges of management, required an annuity of £. 9,275,769, after all the financial operations of 1784 and 85, a ſinking-fund of a million was ſaid to be fully ſufficient, if thus ſacredly applied; as the productive powers of money at compound intereſt are almoſt beyond calculation.

Animated by theſe repreſentations, and urged by ſenſe of duty, the miniſter, though ſtruggling with the embarraſſing effects of a tedious and unſucceſsful war, which, in the judgment of very experienced men, had almoſt exhauſted every national reſource, has eſtabliſhed a ſinking-fund of a million. Whatever might have been the univerſal wiſh, no one, at the re-eſtabliſhment of the peace, had any reaſonable expectation that ſo large a

ſinking-

ſinking-fund would be thus early ſettled by act of parliament, on principles, which at once promote the intereſt of the public, by diminiſhing the national debt, and the advantage of individuals, by creating a rapid circulation.

Of other ſinking-funds it has been remarked, that they did not ariſe ſo much from the ſurpluſes of taxes, after paying the annuity, which they had been eſtabliſhed to pay, as from a reduction of the ſtipulated intereſt. The ſinking-funds eſtabliſhed in Holland during 1655, and at Rome in 1685, were thus created. The well-known ſinking-fund, which had its commencement here in 1716, was equally created by the reduction of intereſt on many ſtocks. And hence has been inferred the inſufficiency of ſuch funds. But, the foundation of Mr. Pitt's ſinking-fund is firmly laid on a clear ſurplus of a permanent revenue, made good by new taxes, and on the conſtant appropriation of ſuch annuities as will revert to the public from the effluxion of years.

The ſufficiency and ſacredneſs of this fund may be however inferred, not ſo much from any artificial reaſoning, as from the nature of the truſts, and from the ſpirit of the people, which ever guards with anxiety what has been dedicated to their conſtant ſecurity and future glory. The ſinking-fund of 1716 was left to the management of miniſters, who found an intereſt in miſapplying it. Mr. Pitt's ſinking-fund has been entruſted to ſix commiſſioners, holding offices, which are no way

way connected with each other, and to the poſſeſſors of which the people look for fidelity, knowledge, and reſponſibility. From ſuch truſtees no miſapplication, or jobbing, can reaſonably be apprehended. Add to this, that the commiſſioners, being required by law to lay out the appropriated money in a ſpecified manner, and to give an annual account of their tranſactions to Parliament, act under the eye of a jealous world, and under the cenſure of an independent preſs, which, in a free country, has an efficacy beyond the penalties of the legiſlature.

But, the act itſelf, which creates this fund, and makes theſe proviſions, may be repealed, it is feared, by the rapacity of future miniſters, or by the diſtreſs of ſubſequent wars.

It is however no ſmall ſecurity of the preſent ſinking-fund, that the impolicy of miſapplying the former is admitted with univerſal conviction and regret. Under this public opinion, no miniſter, whatever his principles or his power may be, will ever attempt the repeal of a law, which, in fact, contains a virtual contract with the public creditors, and on the exiſtence of which the public credit muſt in future depend: For the repeal of this act, and the ſeizure of this fund, during the preſſures of any war, would be a manifeſt breach of this contract; and would amount to a bankruptcy, becauſe it would be a declaration to the world, that the nation could no longer comply with her moſt ſacred engagements. And what evil is to be

feared, or good expected, from any war, which ought to ſtand in competition with the evils of bankruptcy, or the good that muſt neceſſarily reſult from the invariable application of ſuch a fund? A million, thus applied, will aſſuredly free the public from vaſt debts, and in no long period yield a great public revenue: It is demonſtrable, that a ſinking-fund of a million, with the aid of ſuch annuities as muſt meanwhile fall in, will ſet free *four millions* annually, at the end of twenty-ſeven years: It has been demonſtrated by ingenious calculators, that the invariable application of a million to the annual payment of debts, would, in ſixty years, diſcharge £. 317,000,000 of 3 per cent. annuities, the price being at 75 per cent. This meaſure, then, is of more importance to Great Britain than the acquiſition of the American mines. And, this meaſure, thus ſacred in its principles, and ſalutary in its effects, will not probably be ſoon repealed by any miniſter, becauſe every order in the ſtate are pledged to ſupport it, while the property of every man in the community is bound for payment of the national debt.

Without inquiring minutely, whether a ſurplus of £. 900,000 appeared in the exchequer on any given day, it is ſufficiently apparent, that all the purpoſes of this meaſure of finance will be amply anſwered, by the punctual payment of £. 250,000 a quarter to the truſtees, as the law requires; becauſe the Parliament are engaged by the act to make good the deficiency, if the ſurplus of the

ſinking-fund ſhould in any year amount to leſs than a million.

Little fluctuation in the funds will be created by ſending into the Stock Exchange a certain ſum, on certain days, during every quarter. It is the great riſe, and the proportional fall, in the value of the ſtocks, which enables jobbers to gain fortunes. And of conſequence the commiſſioners will hardly find it their intereſt, if they had the inclination, to deal in public ſecurities with a view to great profits *. If the gradual and ſteady riſe of the ſtocks be for the intereſt of the public, as well as of individuals, the quarterly application of the new fund muſt be deemed a great improvement of the old, which was ſeldom felt in the ſtock market, and gave little motion to general circulation. By theſe means will the capitals of the public debts be rendered more manageable, in no long period; the price of ſtocks muſt neceſſarily riſe; the finance operations of government will thereby be performed with ſtill greater advantage to the ſtate;

* The purchaſes being confined to the transfer days, little more than £. 5,000 can be brought to market on any one day, which of conſequence can make no rapid riſe of any one ſtock: And, when the ſinking-fund amounts to the greateſt poſſible ſum of £. 4,000,000, the purchaſe-money on any day can only be ſomething more than £. 20,000.—The gradual application of this ſinking-fund is an excellent quality of it, becauſe ſudden changes in the ſtock market are not for the intereſt of real buyers, or ſellers. The commiſſioners therefore can gain little profit from their ſuperior knowledge of the ſtock into which they intend to purchaſe.

and induſtrious individuals will, in the ſame manner, be more eaſily accommodated with diſcounts and loans.

The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a fund, and the creation of ſuch a truſt, are doubtleſs very important ſervices to the people collectively, as they form a corporation, or community. But it may be eaſily ſhewn, that the people individually will be ſtill greater gainers, by the new ſinking-fund, as it has been thus judiciouſly formed. And, in this view of the ſubject, its ſteady operation will be of ſtill greater utility to the nation than even the payment of debts, becauſe it is the proſperity of individuals which forms the ſtability of the ſtate. The ingenious theoriſts, who oblige the world with projects for paying the national debt, conſider merely the intereſt of the corporation, or public, without attending to what is of more real importance, the advantage of the private perſons, of whom the public conſiſt.

A new order of buyers being thus introduced, and a new demand thereby created, the price of ſtocks muſt neceſſarily riſe, notwithſtanding the arts of the ſtockjobbers; becauſe the public ſecurities become in fact of more real value. In proportion as the money is ſent from the ſinking-fund to the Stock-exchange, the price of ſtocks muſt gradually riſe ſtill higher. And a riſe of ſtocks, when gradual and ſteady, never fails to produce the moſt ſalutary effects on univerſal circulation, by facilitating transfers of property, and by aiding the performance

formance of contracts. Recent experience confirms this general reaſoning. Every one muſt remember how impoſſible it was for individuals to borrow money on any ſecurity, for any premium, till towards the end of 1784. When the ſtocks began to riſe, the price of lands equally roſe. When the government ceaſed to borrow, and the unfunded debts were liquidated, manufacturers and traders eaſily obtained diſcounts, and readily acquired permanent capitals.

But, the wit of man could not have deviſed a meaſure more favourable to circulation, than the ſending of large ſums, from day to day, into the Stock-exchange; whereby the courſe of circulation is conſtantly filled, and, being always augmented, becomes ſtill more rapid. It is the riſe of ſtocks, and the fulneſs of circulation, which make money overflow the coffers of the opulent, unleſs ſome unforeſeen drain ſhould be unhappily opened. When caſh becomes thus plenty, the natural intereſt of money gradually falls, and bills of exchange, and other private ſecurities, are readily diſcounted at a lower rate. In this happy ſtate of things, money is ſaid to be plenty; and every individual is accommodated with loans and with diſcounts, according to his needs, by pledging his property or his credit.

Owing to all theſe facilities, every induſtrious man eaſily finds employments. The manufacturers are all engaged. The traders ſend out additional adventures. The ſhip-owners are offered many

freights. The produce of the husbandman is consumed by a busy people. And thus are rents more readily paid, and taxes more easily collected. Such are the benefits, which result to individuals and the state, from a rapid circulation, which can only be promoted and preserved by sending money constantly into the Stock-exchange. It is thus, by inciting an active industry, that the payment of public debts, through the channel of a quarterly sinking-fund, enables the people to pay the greatest taxes with ease and satisfaction. And thus may we solve a difficult problem in political œconomy, whether the surplus of the public revenue ought to be applied in the discharge of debts, or in the diminution of taxes: the one measure assuredly invigorates the industry of the people, in the manner already described; the other may incite their indolence, but cannot procure them an advantage in any proportion to the benefits of unceasing employments and the accommodation of more extensive capitals: by means of industry the heaviest burthens seem light: by the influence of sloth the slightest duty appears intolerable.

It was owing, probably, to the invigorating effects of an augmented circulation, that our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, not only flourished, but gradually increased to their present magnitude, amidst our too frequent wars, our additional taxes, and accumulating debts. How much the scanty circulation of England was filled, during the great civil wars of the

the laſt century, by the vaſt impoſts of thoſe times, and how ſoon the intereſt of money was thereby reduced, we have already ſeen. Similar conſequences followed the wars of William and Anne, owing to ſimilar cauſes. The ſinking-fund, which for ſeveral years after its creation, in 1716, did not much exceed half a million, produced, aſſuredly, the moſt ſalutary influences, even before the year 1727: The value of the public funds roſe conſiderably, though the ſtipulated intereſt on them had been reduced, firſt, from 6 to 5 per cent. and, in that year, from 5 to 4 per cent. The natural intereſt of money gradually fell: The price of lands in the mean time advanced from 20 and 21 years purchaſe to 26 and 27: And our agriculture and manufactures, our trade and our ſhipping, kept a ſteady pace with the general proſperity of the nation *. Such are the ſalutary effects of a circulation, which, being repleniſhed by daily augmentations, is preſerved conſtantly full. And thus it is that the people are eaſed in the payment of taxes, by being better enabled to pay them, while taxes are continually augmented, though there may be particular impoſts, which ought to be repealed.

On the other hand, an obſtructed circulation never fails to create every evil which can afflict an induſtrious people: Scarcity of money, and unfavourable diſcounts; unpurchaſed manufactures, and want of employments; unpaid rents, and un-

* For the above-mentioned facts, ſee And. Chron. Com. vol. ii. p. 316—22.

performed contracts; are the miſchiefs, which diſtreſs every individual and embarraſs the community, while circulation is impeded. The commerce of England was well nigh ruined, during King William's reign, by the diſorders in the coin, the want of confidence, and the high price of money. The foreign bankruptcies, in 1764, reduced the value of cargoes, which were exported in this year, from ſixteen millions to fourteen, during ſeveral years, owing to the decline of general credit. How much the domeſtic buſineſs of Great Britain was affected by the home bankruptcies of 1772 *, is ſtill remembered. The complaints, which were at thoſe periods made of a decline of commerce, were alone owing to an obſtructed circulation, as ſubſequent experience hath amply evinced.

Wars, then, in modern times, are chiefly deſtructive, as they incommode the induſtrious claſſes, by obſtructing circulation. Yet, general induſtry was not much retarded, however individual perſons, or particular communities, may have been

* The following detail is alone ſufficient to demonſtrate how the manufactures of a country may be ruined by a languid circulation. Of linen cloth there were ſtamped for ſale in Scotland,

during 1771 — 13,466,274 yards.
1772 — 13,089,006.
1773 — 10,748,110.
1774 — 11,422,115.

deranged,

deranged, or injured, by the colony war. The people were able to conſume abundantly, ſince they actually paid vaſt contributions, by their daily conſumption of exciſeable commodities *. And though they purſued their accuſtomed occupations, and thus paid vaſt impoſts, the eſtabliſhed income of the ſtate ſuſtained conſiderable defalcations from various cauſes; from the abuſes, which war never fails to introduce into certain branches of the revenue; from the illicit traffic, that generally prevails in the courſe of hoſtilities; and from the new impoſitions, which ſomewhat leſſen the uſual produce of the old.

Theſe diſorders in the public revenue have been at leaſt palliated, if they have not been altogether cured, ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of peace. The meaſures, which were vigorouſly adopted, for the effectual prevention of ſmuggling; the alterations, which have been made in the collection of

* Of malt there were conſumed,

	Buſh.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5 ——	72,588,010 —	£. 1,814,700.
in 1780—1—2 ——	87,343,083 —	2,183,577.

Of low wines from corn,

	Gal.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5 ——	9,974,237 —	£. 415,593.
in 1780—1—2 ——	11,757,499 —	489,895.

Of Soap,

	lb.	Old Duties.
in 1773—4—5 ——	93,190,140 —	£. 582,438.
in 1780—1—2 ——	98,076,806 —	612,980.

ſome

ſome departments of the public income; and the improvement that has been happily effected in all; have brought and continue to bring vaſt ſums into the Exchequer *. The public expenditure continually diſtributes this vaſt revenue among the creditors, or ſervants of the State, who return it to the original contributors, either for the neceſſaries, or the luxuries of life. The Exchequer, which thus conſtantly receives and diſpenſes this immenſe income, has been aptly compared to the human heart, that unceaſingly carries on the vital circulation, ſo invigorating while it flows, ſo fatal when it ſtops. Thus it is, that modern taxes, which are never hoarded but always expended, may even promote the employments and induſtry, the proſperity and populouſneſs, of an induſtrious people.

The conteſt, which had been carried on during the war of 1755, between Doctor Brackenridge and Doctor Forſter, with regard to the effects of our policy, both in war and peace, on population, was revived amidſt our Colony conteſts by Dr. Price and his opponents. By taking a wider range, and eſtabliſhing many new facts, this laſt

* The whole public revenue paid into the Exchequer,

from Michaelmas 1783 to ditto 1784	—£.	12,995,519.
Ditto, from Michaelmas 1784 to ditto 1785	——	15,379,182.
Ditto, from 5 January 1785 to ditto 1786	——	15,397,471.

controverſy

controverſy furniſhes much more inſtruction, on a very intereſting ſubject, than the laſt. Doctor Price revived the diſpute, by contributing an Appendix to Mr. Morgan's Eſſay on Annuities, wherein the Doctor attempts to prove, by ingenious remarks on births and burials, a gradual decline in the populouſneſs of Great Britain. He was ſoon encountered by Mr. Arthur Young, who juſtly inferred, from the progreſs of improvements in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, an augmentation in the number of people. Mr. Eden publiſhed, in 1779, elegant criticiſms * on Doctor Price; by which he endeavours to invalidate the argument, drawn from a compariſon of the number of houſes at the Revolution, and at preſent; inſiſting that the firſt muſt have been leſs, and the laſt much greater, than the text had allowed. The Doctor ſhewed ſome miſtakes in his antagoniſt, without adding much to the force of his own argument by his reply. Yet, if we may credit his coadjutor, *he conſidered his ſyſtem as more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever* †.

This long-continued controverſy now found other ſupporters. Mr. Wales publiſhed his Accurate Inquiry in 1781. With conſiderable ſucceſs he overthrows Doctor Price's fundamental argument, from the compariſon of houſes at different periods; by ſhewing, that the returns of houſes to the

* In his Letters to Lord Carliſle.

† Uncertainty of Population, p. 9.

tax-

tax-office are not always preciſe; by proving, from actual enumerations of ſeveral towns at diſtant periods, that they had certainly increaſed; by evincing, from the augmented number of births, that there muſt be a greater number of breeders. This able performance was immediately followed by Mr. Howlet's ſtill more extenſive examination of Doctor Price's eſſay. Mr. Howlet expands the arguments of Mr. Wales; he adds ſome illuſtrations; and, what is of ſtill greater importance, in every inquiry, he eſtabliſhes many additional facts.

The treatiſes of Meſſ. Wales and Howlet made a great impreſſion on the public. At the moment, when they had gained—*a conſiderable ſhare of popular belief*, it was deemed prudent on the ſide of Doctor Price to publiſh—*Uncertainty of the preſent population.* This writer frankly declares that *he is convinced by neither party*, and that he muſt conſequently remain *in a ſtate of doubt and ſceptical ſuſpenſe.* His apparent purpoſe is to ſhew, in oppoſition to *the popular belief*, that after all our reſearches, *we really know nothing with any certainty*, as to this important part of our political œconomy. In the ſceptical arithmetic of this dubious computer, 1,300,000, multiplied by 5, produce 6,250,000. Doctor Price and his coadjutors ſeemed unwilling to admit, that if there were, in England and Wales, at Lady day 1690, 1,300,000 *inhabited houſes*, and *five perſons* in each, there muſt neceſſarily have been, at the ſame time, 6,500,000 ſouls. For, they feared the charge of abſurdity,

in

in ſuppoſing a decreaſe of *a million and a half of people*, during ninety years of *augmented employments:* And, they perceived, that by admitting there were in 1690, ſix million and a half of people, they would thereby be obliged to admit, that there had been an augmentation of a million and a half, during the foregoing century, notwithſtanding the long civil wars, and the vaſt emigrations. The Doctor publiſhed, in 1783, Remarks on theſe tracts of Meſſ. Wales and Howlet *. And, with his uſual acuteneſs, he detects ſome miſtakes; but, with his accuſtomed pertinacity, he adheres to his former opinions.

The matter in diſpute, we are told †, muſt be determined, not by vague declamation, or ſpeculative argument, but by well-authenticated facts: For, " the grand argument of Dr. Price is at once extremely clear, and comprehended in a very narrow compaſs." The following is the ſtate of this *grand argument:*

	Houſes.
That there appeared by the Hearth-books, at Lady day 1690, to be in England and Wales - - - - -	1,300,000;
That there appeared by the Tax-office books, in 1777, only -	952,734:

Whence, the Doctor inferred, as a neceſſary conſequence, that there had been a proportional diminution of people, ſince 1690.

* In his Obſervations on Reverſionary Payments, in 2 vol. 8vo.

† By *Uncertainty of Population.*

Conſidering how important this ſubject is to the ſtate, and how much it is connected with the general purpoſe of this Eſtimate, I was led to examine, at once with minuteneſs and with brevity, an argument, which has been oſtentatiouſly diſplayed as equal in its inferences to the certainty of actual enumerations.

In lieu of the obnoxious hearth-tax, the Parliament impoſed, in 1696, a duty of two ſhillings on every houſe; ſix ſhillings on every houſe containing ten windows, and fewer than twenty; and ten ſhillings on every houſe having more than twenty windows; thoſe *occupiers* only excepted, who were exempted from church and poor rates. And Gregory King computed, with his uſual preciſion, what the tax would produce, before it had yielded a penny *: Thus, ſays he, the number of *inhabited houſes* is - - - - - 1,300,000;

whereof, under 10 windows 980,000.
under 20 windows 270,000.
above 20 windows 50,000.
1,300,000.

Out of which deducting,

for thoſe receiving alms - - -	330,000 houſes	at 2s.	£. 33,000.
for thoſe not paying to church and poor	380,000	at 2s. 4d.	44,000.
for omiſſions, frauds, and defaulters -	40,000	at 4s.	8,000.
Inſolvent -	750,000.		£. 85,000.
Solvent -	550,000;	paying net	- 119,000.

However many *inſolvent* houſes were thus deducted from the 1,300,000 *inhabited houſes*, Gregory

* Pol. Obſerv. Brit. Muſ. Harl. MSS. 1898.

King

King allowed at laſt too many *ſolvent* ones. This truth may be inferred from the following *facts*. There remains in the tax-office * a particular account of the money, which each county paid in 1701, for the before-mentioned tax of 1696, from the aſſeſſments of Lady-day 1700, and which amounted to £. 115,226.

But, the oldeſt liſt of houſes, which ſpecifically paid the tax of 1696, is "*an account made up, for* 1708, *from an old ſurvey book*," but from *prior* aſſeſſments: And this account ſtands thus:

Houſes at 2s. —	248,784, produced	£. 24,878.
6s. —	165,856, ———	49,757.
10s. —	93,876, ———	46,398.
	508,516, producing	£. 121,573.

He who does not ſee a marvellous coincidence †, between this official document and the previous calculation of Gregory King, muſt be blind indeed. The *ſolvent* houſes of King, and the *charged* houſes of 1708, are of the ſame kind, both being thoſe houſes which *actually paid*, or were ſuppoſed to have paid,

* I have ranſacked the tax-office for information on this litigated but important ſubject; and I was aſſiſted in my reſearches by the intelligent officers of this department, with an alacrity, which ſhewed, that, having fully performed their duty to the public, they did not fear minute inſpection.

† The houſes having *upwards* of twenty windows, in the tax-office account of 1781, are 52,373. The number of the ſame kind allowed by King is 50,000: But he is not ſo fortunate in his other calculations.

the

the tax. And, Mr. Henry Reid, a comptroller of the tax-office, noted for his minute diligence and attentive accuracy, reported to *the Treasury*, in October 1754, that *the old duties*, on an average, produced yearly, from 1696 to 1709 – £. 118,839*.

But, there must have necessarily been a great many more houses, in 1708, than the 508,516, *charged*, and *paying* £. 121,573. In the *twelve* years from 1696, there could have been no great *waste* of houses, however powerful the destructive cause might have been. And Gregory King, in order to make up his thirteen hundred thousand houses, calculated the *dwellings* of *the poor*, in 1696,

at - - - - -	710,000;
and of defaulters, &c. at - -	40,000;
	750,000.

Davenant † stated, in 1695, from the hearth-books, the cottages, *inhabited by the poorer sort*, at 500,000; and he afterwards asserts, as Doctor Price observes, that there were in 1689, houses, called cottages, having *one* hearth, to the number of 554,631: whence we may equally suppose, that there were dwellings, having two hearths, a very considerable number, whose inhabitants, either receiving alms, or paying none, did not contribute to the tax of 1696: so that, in 1708, there must have certainly existed 710,000 dwellings of the poor; as this number had certainly existed in 1696.

* Gregory King calculated the tax beforehand at £. 119,000.

† Vol. i. edit. 1st, p. 5.

Mr.

Mr. Henry Reid moreover reported to the Treaſury, in 1754, that in the year 1710, when an additional duty took place, it became an univerſal practice to ſtop up lights; ſo that, in 1710, the old duties yielded only £. 115,675:—And for ſome years, both the old and the new duty ſuffered much from this cauſe, as there was no penalty for the ſtopping of windows. Other duties, continues he, were impoſed in 1747 *; ſo that from Lady-day 1747, to Lady-day 1748, the whole duties yielded £. 208,093: and, an explanatory act having paſſed in 1748, the duties yielded, for the year ending at Lady-day 1749, £. 220,890: But, other modes of evading the law being ſoon found, the duties decreaſed year after year.—And thus much from the intelligent Mr. Henry Reid, who never dreamed of houſes falling into non-exiſtence.

The firſt account of houſes, which now appears to have been made up, ſubſequent to that of 1708, is the account of 1750, and the laſt is that of 1781. With the foregoing data before us, we

* By 20 Geo. II. ch. 3; which recites, that whereas it hath often been found from experience, that the duties granted by former acts of parliament have been greatly leſſened by means of perſons frequently ſtopping up windows in their dwelling houſes, in order to evade payment; and it hath often happened, that ſeveral aſſeſſments have not been made in due time; and that perſons remove to other pariſhes without paying the duty for the houſes ſo quitted, to the prejudice of the Revenue. But the legiſlature do *not* recite, that houſes daily fell down, or that the numbers of the people yearly declined.

may now form a judgment ſufficiently preciſe, in reſpect to the progreſs of our houſes, *charged* and *chargeable* with the houſe and window tax.

The charged, in 1696, according to King,	550,000
The chargeable, *according to him*, -	40,000
	590,000
The charged and chargeable, in 1750,	729,048*
Increaſe in 54 years - -	139,048
The charged, in 1708 - - -	508,516
The chargeable, let us ſuppoſe -	100,000
	608,516
The charged and chargeable, in 1781,	721,351
Increaſe in 73 years -	112,835.

Here then is a ſolution of the difficult problem, in political œconomy, which has engaged ſo many able pens, Whether there exiſt as many houſes, at preſent, as there certainly were, in England and Wales, at the Revolution; at leaſt, the queſtion is decided, as to the number of houſes, *charged* and *chargeable* with the window and houſe tax: And of conſequence the middling and higher ranks of men muſt, with the number of their dwellings, have neceſſarily increaſed.

* This high number, in 1750, was probably owing to the act of parliament, 20 Geo. II, which had juſt paſt, when new modes of circumvention had not yet taken place.

A great

A great difficulty, it muſt be admitted, ſtill remains, which cannot be altogether removed, though many obſtructions may be cleared away. The difficulty conſiſts, in aſcertaining, with equal preciſion, the number of dwellings, which have been exempted, by law, from every tax ſince 1690, on account of the occupiers poverty. The litigated point muſt at laſt be determined by an anſwer to the queſtion, Whether the lower orders are more numerous in the preſent day than in the former.

A modern ſociety has been compared, with equal elegance and truth, to a pyramid, having the higher ranks for its point, and the lower orders for its baſe. Gregory King left us an account of the people, minutely divided into their ſeveral claſſes, which, though formed for a different purpoſe, contains ſufficient accuracy for the preſent argument *.

* Davenant's works.

RANKS.	Number of Families.	Heads in each.	Number of Perſons.
Peers — —	186	30	6,920
Knights — —	600	13	7,800
Baronets — —	800	16	12,800
Eminent clergymen	2,000	6	12,000
Eminent merchants	2,000	8	16,000
Eſquires — —	3,000	10	30,000
Military officers —	4,000	4	16,000
Naval officers - —	5,000	4	20,000
Perſons in leſſer offices -	5,000	6	30,000
Perſons in higher offices -	5,000	8	40,000
Leſſer clergymen —	8,000	5	40,000
Leſſer merchants —	8,000	6	48,000
Perſons in the law —	10,000	7	70,000
Perſons of the liberal arts -	15,000	5	75,000
Freeholders of the better ſort -	40,000	7	280,000
Shopkeepers and tradeſmen -	50,000	4½	225,000
Artizans - —	60,000	4	240,000
Freeholders of the leſſer ſort -	120,000	5½	660,000
Farmers - —	150,000	5	750,000
Common ſoldiers —	35,000	2	70,000
Common ſailors —	50,000	3	150,000
Labourers and outſervants -	364,000	3½	1,275,000
Cottagers, paupers, and vagrants	400,000	3¼	1,320,000
			5,550,520

If

If this diviſion of the people ſhould be deemed only probable, it would prove, with ſufficient conviction, how many dwellings the two laſt claſſes required to ſhelter them, ſince they contained no fewer than *two million ſix hundred and five thouſand perſons.* Gregory King allotted for them, as we have ſeen, 550,000 houſes. And it is apparent, that if the two lower orders of men have augmented, with the progreſs, which has been traced in our agriculture and manufactures, in our traffic and navigation, they muſt neceſſarily dwell in additional houſes.

Davenant has ſhewn, that the poor-rates of England and Wales amounted, towards the end of Charles II.'s reign, to - - £. 665,302.
By an account given in to parliament,
in 1776, the poor-rates amounted to 1,556,804.

However this vaſt ſum, which is probably under the truth, may have been miſapplied, or waſted, yet every one who received his proportion of it, as alms, was exempted from the tax on chargeable houſes, and muſt have conſequently ſwelled the number of cottages.

Whatever the term *cottage* may have ſignified formerly, it was deſcribed, by the ſtatute of the 20 Geo. II. as a houſe, having nine windows, or under, whoſe inhabitant either receives alms, or does not pay to church and poor. But, we are not inquiring about *the word*, but *the thing*; whether the *dwellings* of the lower orders, of whatever denomination, have increaſed, or diminiſhed, ſince

the Revolution; and *the end* of this inquiry is to find, whether the lower orders of men have decreaſed or augmented.

The argument for a decreaſed number of cottages is this: Gregory King, from a view of the hearth-books of 1690, (which yet did not contain the cottages, ſince they were not chargeable with the hearth-tax) calculated the dwellings of thoſe, who either received alms, or did not give any, at - - - - - 550,000.

The ſurveyors of houſes returned the number of cottages, in 1759 *, at - 282,429;
and in 1781 - - 284,459.

Forſter, the antagoniſt of Brackenridge, was the firſt, probably, who objected to the accuracy of the ſurveyors returns, with regard to *all* houſes. Having obtained the *collectors rolls*, he had *counted*, in 1757, the number of houſes in nine contiguous pariſhes; whereby he found, that, out of 588 houſes, only 177 paid the tax; that Lambourn pariſh, wherein there is a market-town, contains 445 houſes, of which 229 only pay the tax. When it was objected to Forſter, that this ſurvey was too narrow for a general average, he added afterwards nine other pariſhes, in diſtant counties;

* This is the firſt year, ſays Doctor Price, that an order was given to return the cottages excuſed for poverty. I have in my poſſeſſion ſome returns which were made of cottages in 1757, and which, having eſcaped the deſtruction of time, evince previous orders and previous performance. There was, in fact, an account of the cottages made up at the tax-office in 1756.

whereby it appeared, that of 1,045 houſes, only 347 were charged with the duty; whence he inferred, that the *cottages* are to the *taxable houſes* as more than *two* to *one* *. Mr. Wales equally objected to the truth of the ſurveyors returns, in their full extent. And Mr. Howlet endeavoured, with no ſmall ſucceſs, to calculate the average of their errors, in order to evince what ought probably to have been the true amount of the genuine numbers. In this calculation, Doctor Price hath doubtleſs ſhewn petty faults; yet is there ſufficient reaſon to conclude, with Doctor Forſter and Mr. Howlet, that the houſes returned to the tax-office are to the whole, as 17 are to 29, nearly. It will at laſt be found, that the returns of taxable houſes are very near the truth; but that the reports of exempted houſes cannot poſſibly be true: for 280,000, or even 300,000 cottages, would not contain the two lower orders who exiſted in England and Wales at the Revolution; and who, with the greateſt aid of machinery, could not perform the annual labour of the ſame countries at preſent.

Our agriculture has at all times employed the greateſt number of hands, becauſe it forms the ſupport of our manufactures, our traffic, and our navigation. It admits of little diſpute, whether our

* Forſter's letter, in December 1760, which the Royal Society declined to publiſh. [MSS. Birch, Brit. Muſ. No. 4440.] The algebraical ſophiſms of Brackenridge were printed in the foreign gazettes: the true philoſophy of Forſter, by *experiment* and *fact*, was buried in the rubbiſh of the Royal Society.

husbandry has been pursued, before or since the bounty on the export of corn, in 1689, with the greatest skill, diligence, and success. Mr. Arthur Young found, in 1770, by inquiries in the counties, and by calculations from minutes of sufficient accuracy, that the persons engaged in farming alone amounted to 2,800,000; besides a vast number of people, who are as much maintained by agriculture as the ploughman that tills the soil *. Yet, the two lower ranks of Gregory King, including the labouring people and out-servants, the cottagers, paupers, and vagrants, amounted only to 2,600,000.

Of the general state of our manufactures at the Revolution, and at present, no comparison can surely be made, as to the extensiveness of their annual value, or to the numerosity of useful people employed by them. The woollen manufacture of Yorkshire alone is in the present day of equal extent with the woollen manufactures of England at the Revolution. By an account, formed at the aulnager's office, it appears, that the woollen goods exported in 1688, were valued at two millions, exclusive of the home consumption, of much less amount †. The manufacturers furnished the committee of privy council, on the Irish arrangements, with "a particular estimate of the Yorkshire woollen manufactures;" whereby it appeared, that there were exported yearly of the value of

* North. Tour, vol. iv. p. 364—5.

† MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. N° 1898, for a minute account.

£. 2,371,942,

£. 2,371,942, and consumed at home £. 901,759*. We know, with sufficient certainty, from the custom-house books, that after clothing the inhabitants, there were exported of the value of woollens, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1, the value of - - £. 2,561,615; from average of 1769—70—71 - 4,323,463.

And this manufacture, which has been always regarded as the greatest, continues to flourish, and to employ, as it is said, a million and a half of people.

Since the epoch of the Revolution, we may be said to have gained the manufactures of silks, of linen, of cotton, of paper, of iron, and the potteries, with glass; besides other ingenious fabrics, which all employ a very numerous and useful race. We may indeed determine, with regard to the augmentation of our manufactures, and to the increase of our artizans, from the following detail:

There were exported, according to an average of the years 1699—1700—1701, products, *exclusive of the woollens before mentioned*, of the value of - - - £. 3,863,810.
Ditto in 176 —70—71 - - 10,565,196.

Thus have we demonstration, that while our woollen manufactories nearly doubled in their extent, during seventy years, our other manufactures had more than trebled in theirs. And therefore it is equally demonstrable, that the great body of artists,

* The Council Report.

how

who were conſtantly employed in all theſe manufactories, muſt have increaſed nearly in the ſame proportion, during the ſame buſy period.

The whole ſailors, who were found in England, by enumeration, in January 1700—1, amounted to - - - - *16,591.

By a calculation, which agreed nearly with the accuracy of this enumeration, there appeared to have been annually employed in *the merchants ſervice*, between the years 1764 and 74 - 59,565.

The tonnage of Engliſh ſhipping during King William's reign, amounted only to - - 230,441 tons.

D° during the preſent reign - 992,754

We may thence certainly determine, with regard to the number of uſeful artificers, who muſt have been employed during the latter period more than in the former, in building and repairing our ſhips. It is huſbandry, then, and manufactures, commerce, and navigation, which every where, in later ages, employ and maintain the great body of the people. Now, the labour demanded during the preſent reign, to carry forward the national buſineſs, agricultural and commercial, could not by any poſſibility have been performed by the inferior numbers of the induſtrious claſſes, who doubtleſs exiſted in the reign of King William. And

* There is reaſon to believe, however, that the above enumeration did not contain the ſailors of the port of London.

from

from the foregoing reaſonings and facts, we may certainly conclude, with one of the ableſt writers of any age on political œconomy: "The liberal reward of labour, as it is the effect of increaſing wealth, ſo it is the cauſe of increaſing population: To complain of it [high wages] is to lament over the neceſſary effect and cauſe of the greateſt public proſperity *.

In calculating the numbers of people, we muſt attentively conſider the ſtate of ſociety in which they exiſt; whether as fiſhers and hunters, as ſhepherds and huſbandmen, as manufacturers and traders; or as in a mixed condition, compoſed partly of each. The American tribes, who repreſent the firſt, are found to be inconſiderable in numbers; becauſe they do not eaſily procure ſubſiſtence from their vaſt lakes and unbounded foreſts, by fiſhing and hunting. The Aſiatic Tartars, who repreſent the ſecond ſtage of ſociety, are much more populous; ſince they derive continual plenty from their multitudinous flocks. But, even theſe are by no means equal in population to the Chineſe, who acquire their comforts from an unremitting induſtry, which they employ in agriculture, in manufacture, in the arts, in fiſheries, though not in navigation. It was foreign commerce which peopled the marſhes of the Adriatic

* See the Inquiry into the Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, ch. 8; wherein Dr. Adam Smith treats *Of the Wages of Labour*, and incidentally of population, with a perſpicuity, an elegance, and a force, which have been ſeldom equalled.

and

and the Baltic, during the middle ages; hence aroſe Venice and the Hanſe towns, with their envied opulence and naval power. It was the conjunction of agriculture, manufactures, and traffic, which filled *the Low Countries* with populous towns, with unexampled wealth, and with marvellous energy. The ſame cauſes that produced all thoſe effects, which hiſtory records, as to induſtry, riches, and ſtrength, continue to produce ſimilar effects at preſent.

When England was a country of ſhepherds and warriors, we have beheld her inconſiderable in numbers. When manufacturers found their way into the country, when huſbandmen gradually acquired greater ſkill, and when the ſpirit of commerce at length actuated all; people, we have ſeen, grow out of the earth, amidſt convulſions, famine, and warfare. He who compares the population of England and Wales at the Conqueſt, at the demiſe of Edward III. at the year 1588, with our population in 1688, muſt trace a vaſt progreſs in the intervenient centuries. But England can ſcarcely be regarded as a manufacturing and commercial country at the Revolution, at leaſt when contraſted with her preſent proſperity. The theoriſt, then, who inſiſts, that our numbers have thinned, as our employments have increaſed, and our population declined, as our agriculture and manufactures, our commerce and navigation, advanced, argues againſt facts, experience, and even againſt daily obſervation.

Yet, Doctor Price and his followers contend, that our induſtrious claſſes have dwindled the moſt ſince 1749, becauſe it is from this epoch that the proſperity of the people has been the greateſt, however they may have, at any time, been governed. And the following argument is ſaid to amount to demonſtration, becauſe *it contains as ſtrong a proof of progreſſive depopulation as actual ſurveys can give**: The number of houſes returned to the tax-office, as *charged* and *chargeable*, was, —

in 1750 — 729,048
in 1756 — 715,702
in 1759 — 704,053
in 1761 — 704,543
in 1777 — 701,473

For a moment Doctor Price would not liſten to the ſuggeſtion, that the houſes may have *exiſted*, though they were not *included* in the returns of the intermediate years. But, lo! additional returns have been made up at the tax-office, amounting, in 1781 to 721,351.

* Dr. Price's Eſſay on Popul. p. 38.

As

As a ſupplemental proof *, which may give ſatiſfaction to well-meaning minds, there is annexed *a comparative view of the number of houſes in each county, as they appeared to Davenant, in the hearth-books of* 1690; *of the charged houſes in* 1708, *with the duties actually paid by them*; *of the chargeable houſes in* 1750; *with the houſes of the ſame deſcription, in* 1781.

* The chargeable houſes,

in 1781, *under* 10 windows, are —		497,801
under 21 windows, —	—	171,177
above 20 windows, —	—	52,373
		721,351
Cottages - - - -		284,459
Total houſes and cottages, in 1781,		1,005,810
The houſes in 1750 — 729,048		
The cottages in 1756 — 274,755		
		1,003,803
Increaſe ſince 1750 —	—	2,007

The account of cottages, in 1756, was completed, as appears from the tax-office books, on the 20th of November 1756. And thus, by adopting the mode and the materials of Doctor Price's argument, it is ſhewn, that he has been extremely miſtaken, as to the depopulation of England, ſince 1750.

A Com-

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Number of HOUSES, in each County of England and Wales, as they appeared in the Hearth-books of Lady-Day 1690, and as they were made up at the Tax-office in 1708—1750—and in 1781.

COUNTIES.	No of Houſes, 1690.	No of Houſes charged, 1708.	Money paid, by the charged Houſes, 1708.	No of Houſes, charged and chargeable, 1750.	No of Houſes, charged and chargeable, 1781.
			£.		
Bedfordſhire	12,170	5,479	1,315 14	6,802	5,360
Berks	16,996	7,558	2,211 4	9,762	8,277
Bucks	18,688	8,604	2,216 8	10,687	8,670
Cambridge	18,629	7,220	1,635 16	9,334	9,088
Cheſter	25,592	11,656	2,682 0	16,006	17,201
Cornwall	26,613	9,052	1,649 0	14,520	15,274
Cumberland	15,279	2,509	513 18	11,914	13,419
Derby	24,944	8,260	1,669 4	13,912	14,046
Devon	56,202	16,686	3,420 8	30,049	28,612
Dorſet	17,859	4,133	980 6	11,711	11,132
Durham	53,345	6,298	1,114 4	10,475	12,418
York	121,052	44,779	7,788 14	70,816	76,224
Eſſex	40,545	16,250	5,046 4	19,057	18,389
Glouceſter	34,476	13,285	3,723 14	16,251	14,950
Hereford	16,744	6,913	1,546 10	8,771	8,092
Hertford	17,488	7,447	2,132 2	9,251	8,628
Huntingdon	8,713	3,992	859 0	4,363	3,847
Kent	46,674	21,871	5,883 2	30,029	30,975
Lancaſhire	46,961	22,588	4,332 12	33,273	30,956
Leiceſter	20,448	8,584	1,889 4	12,957	12,545
Lincoln	45,019	17,571	3,392 2	24,999	24,591
London, &c.	111,215	47,031	16,210 14	71,977	74,704
Norfolk	56,579	12,097	3,495 14	20,697	20,056
Northampton	26,904	9,218	2,216 4	12,464	10,350
Northumberland	included in Durham.	6,787	979 18	10,453	12,431
Nottingham	17,818	7,755	1,528 6	11,001	10,872
Oxford	19,627	8,502	2,278 12	10,362	8,698
Rutland	3,661	1,498	310 8	1,873	1,445
Salop	27,471	11,452	2,358 8	13,332	12,895
Somerſet	45,900	19,043	4,813 18	27,822	26,407
Southampton, &c.	28,557	14,331	3,585 18	18,045	15,828
Stafford	26,278	10,812	2,372 8	15,917	16,483
Suffolk	47,537	15,301	4,970 14	18,834	19,589
Surrey, &c.	40,610	14,071	3,972 18	20,037	19,381
Suſſex	23,451	9,429	2,898 18	11,170	10,574
Warwick	22,400	9,461	2,440 10	12,759	13,276
Weſtmorland	6,691	1,904	349 12	4,937	6,144
Wilts	27,418	11,373	2,959 10	14,303	12,856
Worceſter	24,440	9,178	2,519 8	9,967	8,791
Angleſea	South and North Wales.	1,040	147 8	1,334	2,264
Brecon		3,370	478 8	3,234	3,407
Cardigan		2,042	237 12	2,542	2,444
Carmarthen		3,985	475 2	5,020	5,126
Carnarvon		1,583	211 18	2,366	2,675
Denbigh		4,753	709 18	6,091	5,678
Flint		2,653	400 10	3,520	2,990
Glamorgan		5,020	707 12	6,290	5,146
Merioneth		1,900	246 12	2,664	2,972
Monmouth		3,289	731 14	4,980	4,454
Montgomery		4,047	588 6	4,890	5,421
Pembroke		2,764	347 12	2,803	3,224
Radnor	77,921	2,092	327 8	2,425	2,076
	1,319,215	508,516	£.121,573 4	729,048	721,351

From this inſtructive document it appears, that *twenty* counties, including London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, have actually increaſed, ſince 1750. But it is an abuſe of words to ſpeak of houſes *having actually increaſed:* the proper language is, that in twenty counties the ſurveyors have been more diligent, and made more accurate returns, than in other diſtricts. Let us take the example of Surrey and Lancaſhire, which are ſtated, as having decreaſed in houſes, and conſequently in people, ſince 1750 *. It is apparent, that Surrey has been overflowed by London, during the laſt five-and-thirty years †. And of Lancaſhire, conſidering the vaſt augmentations of its domeſtic manufactures and foreign trade, it is not too much to aſſert, that it muſt have added to its houſes and people one-fourth, ſince 1750 ‡.

But,

* The country commiſſioners often diſcharge on appeal, houſes, as not properly chargeable. This may occaſion an apparent decreaſe.

† In the *villages around London*, there were baptiſed, during a period of twenty years, beginning with the Revolution - - - - 20,782
During 20 years, beginning with 1758—60, or 61 39,383

‡ In ſixteen pariſhes in Lancaſhire, excluſive of Manchester and Liverpool, there were baptiſed in twenty years, about the Revolution - - 18,389
Ditto, from 1758 - - - - 47,919

Theſe proofs of a rapid increaſe of natural population are from Mr. Howlet's Examination. It is an acknowledged fact, that Liverpool has doubled its inhabitants every five-and-twenty years, ſince the year 1700.

Of

But, it is ſaid to be idle and impertinent to argue from the ſtate of population in Yorkſhire, or in Lancaſhire, ſince Doctor Price is ready to admit, *that theſe have added many to their numbers* *. Yet, owing to what *moral cauſe* is it, that York and Lancaſhire, Cheſter and Derby, have acquired ſo many people? Is it owing to their manufactories, and traffic, and navigation, which augmented employments? Now, the ſame cauſes have produced the ſame effects, in the other counties of this for-

Of houſes it contained, in 1753 — 3,700
in 1773 — 5,929
in 1783 — 6,819

Yet were its houſes returned to the tax-office,
in 1777 at 3,974
and in 1784 at 4,489

Mancheſter with Salford have equally increaſed.
Of houſes there were in both, in 1773 — 4,268
in 1783 — 6,178;

Of which there were returned to the tax-office,
in 1777 — 2,519
in 1784 — 3,665

And it might be eaſily ſhewn, that the ſmaller towns and villages of Lancaſhire have grown nearly in the ſame proportion; and this moſt proſperous county has, during the laſt ninety years, increaſed in the numbers of people with the boaſted rapidity of the American ſtates. Boſton (in New-England) was ſettled in 1633; yet, it did not contain twenty thouſand inhabitants in 1775. Philadelphia was planted in 1682; yet, in its happieſt days, it did not comprehend forty thouſand ſouls. The other towns of the American ſtates, being much inferior to theſe, can ſtill leſs be compared to the manufacturing villages of England, or to Paiſley, in Scotland.

* Uncertainty of Population, p. 14—19.

tunate iſland, in proportion as theſe cauſes have prevailed in each.

It is pretended, however, that the aſtoniſhing augmentation of our cities did not ariſe from births amidſt proſperity and happineſs, ſince many people were brought from other diſtricts by the allurements of gain. The additional labourers could not aſſuredly have come, in conſiderable numbers, from thoſe counties, which have ſuſtained no diminution of people themſelves: and in no European country is there leſs migration from one pariſh to another, than in England. The principle of the poor laws checks population, by preventing the laborious poor from looking for better employment beyond the limits of their native pariſhes. Every one knows with what tyrannic rigour *the law of ſettlements* is enforced, by ſending to their proper pariſhes the adventurous perſons, who had found no employment at home. It is not therefore the migration of the adult from the country to the town, that continually ſwells the amount of the buſy multitudes, which are ſeen to ſwarm where the ſpirit of diligence animates the people: and it is the employment and habits of induſtry, which are given to children in manufacturing towns, that add to the aggregate of dwellers in them, more than the arrival of ſtrangers.

Having, in the foregoing manner, traced a gradual progreſs from *The Conqueſt* to *The Revolution*; having thus eſtabliſhed, by the beſt proofs which ſuch an inquiry, without enumerations, admits, that

that the former current of population not only continued to run, but acquired a rapidity and a fulneſs as it flowed; we ſhall not find it difficult, ſince the chief objections are removed, to aſcertain the probable amount of the preſent inhabitants. He who inſiſts, that there were in England and Wales 1,300,000 inhabited houſes in 1688, muſt equally allow, ſince it has been proved, that of theſe there were 711,000, which were inhabited by perſons, who either received alms, or gave none; and it has been equally ſhewn, that the neceſſary labour of the preſent day could not, by any poſſible exertions, be performed by the lower orders, who certainly exiſted in 1688. Hence, it is reaſonable to conclude, that, ſince the 590,000 *chargeable* houſes, in 1690, were accompanied with 710,000 *dwellings of the poor*, the 721,000 *chargeable* houſes of 1781, muſt conſequently be accompanied with 865,000 *dwellings of the poor*. For, ſuch is the inference of juſt proportion. The diſtinct dwellings in England and Wales, when both claſſes are added together, muſt be 1,586,000; which, if multiplied by $5\frac{1}{5}$, for the number of perſons in each, would diſcover the whole numbers to be 8,447,200: But, there ought ſtill to be an adequate allowance for empty houſes, and for other circumſtances of diminution; which, after every deduction, would ſhew the preſent population of England and Wales to be rather more than eight million. And ſuch an augmentation, as this would evince, ſince the Revolution, is altogether

conſiſtent with reaſon, with facts, and with experience.

Mr. Wallace, the learned antagoniſt of Mr. Hume, very juſtly remarks*, "that it is not owing "to the want of prolific virtue, but, to the diſ- "treſſed circumſtances of mankind, every genera- "tion do not more than double themſelves; which "would be the caſe, if every man were married "at the age of puberty, and could provide for a "family." He plainly evinces, that there might have eaſily proceeded from the *created pair* 6,291,456 perſons in ſeven hundred years. From the foregoing diſcuſſions we have ſeen an augmentation of four million and a half of people, during ſix centuries and a quarter, of tyranny, of war, and of peſtilence. But, when we conſider the more frequent employments and agreeable comforts of the people, their ſuperior freedom and greater healthfulneſs, we may aſſuredly conclude, that there has been an augmentation of a million and a half ſince *The Revolution.*

Of this gradual increaſe of people, Ireland furniſhes a remarkable example, though this kingdom has not always enjoyed, during the effluxion of the laſt century, a ſituation equally fortunate †. Ireland

* Diſſert. on the Numbers of Mankind, p. 8.

† Though the hearth-books of England have ſunk into oblivion, the hearth-books of Ireland remain. From the produce of the hearth-tax may be traced its gradual riſe, as in the ſubjoined detail, which evinces the progreſs of population.

land has ſuffered, during this period, the miſeries of civil war, which ended in the forfeiture and expulſion of thouſands. In this period alſo multitudes conſtantly emigrated, either to exerciſe their induſtry, or to draw the ſword in foreign climes. Yet, are there abundant reaſons to believe, that this prolific iſland has much more than doubled its inhabitants in the laſt hundred years.

Sir William Petty, who poſſeſſed very minute details with regard to the condition of Ireland, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, ſtates the number of houſes, in 1672*, at - - 200,020
The number returned by the tax-gatherers, in 1781 †, was - - - - 477,602

At the firſt epoch, the Iriſh nation had ſcarcely recovered from a long and deſtructive civil war. It is ſufficiently known, that in the accounts of 1781, there are many houſes omitted, which often happens, when intereſt may be promoted by conceal-

tion. It yielded, according to a five years average, ending

with — — —	1687	——	£. 32,416
Three years average, with	1732	——	42,456
D° — — with	1762	——	55,189
Seven years — d° —	1777	——	59,869
Five years — d° —	1781	——	60,648
In	1781	——	63,820

See Bibl. Harl. Brit. Muſ. N° 4706—Mr. A. Young's Tour in Ireland, the Appendix—and Mr. Howlet's Eſſay on the Population of Ireland, juſt publiſhed, p. 19.

* Pol. Anatomy, p. 7-11-17-116.

† Mr. Howlet's Eſſay on the Population of Ireland, p. 13.

ment. Sir William Petty ſtates the whole population of Ireland, in 1672, at - 1,100,000 ſouls.
Were we to multiply 478,000 houſes of the preſent day, at $5\frac{1}{3}$ in each, this would carry the number up to - - - 2,550,000

And the moſt intelligent perſons in that kingdom ſuppoſe Ireland to contain about two millions and a half of ſouls *. Were we to admit this as merely an approximation to truth, this would evince a ſtill more conſiderable increaſe of people, than, as we have ſo many reaſons for believing, took place during the laſt hundred years in England, which enjoyed more productive advantages. This example ought to be more convincing than many arguments.

The ſame principles, which in every age influenced the population of England, produced ſimilar effects on the populouſneſs of Scotland. When England was poor and depopulated, we may eaſily conjecture, that Scotland could not have been very opulent or populous. And, as England gradually acquired inhabitants, we may preſume Scotland followed her track, though at a great diſtance behind. An intelligent obſerver might form a ſatisfactory judgment of the previous condition of the two kingdoms, from the accurate ſtatements whereon their union was formed.

* Mr. A. Young's Tour in Ireland, the Appendix.

The

The public revenue of England was	£. 5,691,803
of Scotland - -	160,000
Of the trade of both we may determine from the cuſtom-houſe duties, which in England were - - - -	£. 1,341,559
in Scotland - - - -	34,000
The groſs income of the poſts was, in England - - - -	£. 101,101
in Scotland - - -	1,194
Of the circulation of both we may form an opinion from the re-coinage of both. There were re-coined in England, during King William's reign	£. 8,400,000
In Scotland, ſoon after the Union -	411,118
We may decide with regard to the conſumption of both from the exciſe-duties; which in England amounted to - - - -	£. 947,602
in Scotland to - -	33,500

From theſe details * it is reaſonable to infer, that Scotland poſſeſſed, in thoſe days, no flouriſhing huſbandry, few manufactories, little commerce, and leſs circulation, though there had certainly been a conſiderable advance, in all theſe, during the two

* See the elaborate and very curious Hiſtory of the Union by De Foe, juſt re-publiſhed by Stockdale.

preceding centuries. " Numbers of people, the " greateſt riches of other nations," ſaid Mr. Law *, in 1705, " are a burden to us; the land is not " improved; the product is not manufactured; " the fiſhing, and other advantages of foreign trade " are neglected." Such was the deplorable ſtate of Scotland at the epoch of its happy union with England.

The Scots were for years too much engaged in religious and political controverſy, to derive from that fortunate event, all the advantages which, at length, have undoubtedly flowed from it. Their misfortunes, ariſing chiefly from theſe evils, have, however, conferred on them the moſt invigorating benefits. The laws that a wiſe policy enacted, created greater perſonal independence, and eſtabliſhed better ſafeguards for property, which have produced the uſual effects of a more animating induſtry. Of the intermediate improvements of their tillage we may form ſome judgment from the riſe of rents, and the advance of the purchaſe money for land, which muſt have neceſſarily proceeded from a better huſbandry, or a greater opulence. The manufactures, which the Scotch doubtleſs poſſeſſed, in 1707, though to no conſiderable extent, have not only been greatly enlarged †, but to the old, new ones

* Conſiderations on Money and Trade.

† The quantity of linen made for ſale in Scotland, during 1728, was only 2,000,000 yards; but, in 1775, 12,000,000. The linen is the chief manufacture of Scotland; and, were

ones have mean while been added. The value of the whole exports by ſea, amounted, at the epoch of the Union, if we may believe Mr. Law, to about £. 300,000: The whole of theſe exports were carried up, before the colony war began, to £. 1,800,000, if we may credit the cuſtom-houſe books. The tonnage of ſhipping, which annually entered the ports of Scotland, at the firſt æra, was only 10,000*; but, at the laſt, 93,000 tons. The foregoing ſtatements, general as they are, will evince to every intelligent mind, how much the

we to regard this as a proper repreſentative of the whole, we might from this infer a very conſiderable augmentation in every other manufacture.

* In the Harl. MSS. No. 6269, Brit. Muſ. there is a liſt of the ſhips belonging to Scotland, (as they were entered in the Regiſter General kept at London) and Trading in the ports of that kingdom, from Chriſtmas 1707, to Chriſtmas 1712, diſtinguiſhing thoſe belonging to Scotland, prior to the Union, as follows:

	Veſſels.	Tons.
Total - - - - -	1,123	50,232
Prior to the Union - -	215	14,485
Increaſe -	908	35,747
There belonged to Scotland, in 1784, of veſſels, which entered only once - -	1,649	92,349;

Of which were employed

	Veſſels.	Tons.		
in foreign trade -	643	50,386		
Coaſt trade - -	709	31,542		
Fiſhing ſhallops, &c.	297	10,421		
			1,649	92,349.

Theſe comparative ſtatements evince undoubtedly a very conſiderable increaſe of ſhipping in the intermediate period.

commerce

commerce and navigation of Scotland have increaſed, ſince the hearts and hands of the two kingdoms were fortunately joined together.

Of the traffic of Scotland, it ought to be however remarked, that it is more eaſily driven from its courſe than the Engliſh, either by internal misfortunes, or by foreign warfare; becauſe it is leſs firmly eſtabliſhed; it is ſupported by ſmaller capitals; and its range is leſs extenſive. The bankruptcies of 1772 deducted nearly £. 300,000 from the annual exports of Scotland. The commercial events of our two laſt wars would alone juſtify this remark. Let us compare, then, the exports of Scotland, when they were the loweſt, during the war of 1755, with the loweſt exports of the colony-war, and the higheſt exports of the firſt, with the higheſt of the ſecond; becauſe we ſhall thereby ſee the depreſſions and elevations of both:

The Value of Exports,

in 1755 -	£. 535,577	— in 1782 -	£. 653,709
in 1756 -	628,049	— in 1778 -	702,820
in 1757 -	828,577	— in 1781 -	763,809
in 1760 -	1,086,205	— in 1776 -	1,025,973
in 1761 -	1,165,722	— in 1777 -	837,643
in 1762 -	998,165	— in 1780 -	1,002,039

When we recollect, that Great Britain was engaged, during the laſt war with her colonies, which occupied ſo much of the foreign trade of Scotland, with France, with Spain, and with Holland,

we ought not to be ſurpriſed, that ſo much ſhould be loſt, as that ſo much ſhould remain, after ſeven years hoſtilities. It was deranged, but it was not ruined, as had been predicted, in 1774. And, when the various preſſures of this moſt diſtreſsful war were removed, though with a tardy hand, it began to riſe, yet not with the elaſticity of 1763, becauſe the colony commerce, which furniſhed ſo many of the exports of Scotland, had been turned into other channels. But, the following detail will enable us to form a more accurate judgment, with regard to this intereſting ſubject:

The Value of Exports from Scotland,

in 1762 -	£.998,165	in 1782 -	£.653,709
in 1763 -	1,091,436	in 1783 -	829,824
in 1764 -	1,243,927	in 1784 -	929,900

It ought however to be remembered, that in the firſt period, complete peace was eſtabliſhed in 1763; but, in the laſt, it was not fully reſtored till the middle of 1784. Yet, the ſhipping of Scotland will be found, as we have already perceived them to be in England, our moſt infallible guides; becauſe, the entries of ſhips are more accurately taken than the value of cargoes, and trade can ſcarcely be ſaid to decline while our veſſels increaſe. Let us attend, then, to the following detail of ſhips, which entered in the ports of Scotland, during the following years, both before and after war:

Foreign

	Foreign Trade.	Coaſt Trade.	Fiſhing, &c.
in 1769 -	48,271 tons.	21,615 tons.	10,275 tons.
in 1774 -	52,225 —	26,214 —	14,903
in 1784 -	50,386 —	31,542 —	*10,421

It is apparent then, that though the foreign trade of Scotland was ſomewhat inferior, in 1784, to that of 1774, it was equally ſuperior to that of 1769: That the coaſt trade was much greater, in 1784, than ever it had been in any prior year: And, that the fiſhing buſineſs of 1784 was more extenſive than it had been in 1769, but much more confined than in 1774, if we may implicitly credit the cuſtom-houſe books.

However the foreign trade of Scotland may have been depreſſed by the colony-war, there is reaſon to believe, that ſhe has thereby added to her domeſtic manufactures. The commercial capitals, which could no longer be employed abroad, were at length more uſefully laid out at home.

* The cuſtom-houſe account, from which the above detail is taken, ſtates the ſhips *to belong to Scotland, accounting each veſſel only one voyage in every year.* This comparative eſtimate of the ſhipping, which were employed in the foreign or overſea trade of Scotland, may be carried back to the peace of 1763. Thus there were employed,

in 1759 — 29,902 tons. — in 1761 — 31,411 tons.
in 1763 — 33,352 — in 1764 — 41,076

Whence we may undoubtedly conclude, that Scotland poſſeſſes a much greater navigation at preſent, than at the peace of 1763, or at any prior epoch.

Inſtead

Inſtead of promoting the labour of other countries, theſe capitals furniſhed employment to many hands, within the kingdom. And Scotland has by this means extended her valuable manufacture of gauzes; ſhe has augmented the number of her print-fields; ſhe has acquired every branch of the cotton buſineſs; and ſhe has greatly increaſed her linens *. Thus it is, that an active people may be even enriched, by throwing obſtructions in the way of their foreign commerce. And, if productive labour conſtitutes genuine wealth, the Scots may be regarded at preſent as a nation more induſtrious and opulent than they were before the colony-war began.

Theſe obſervations apply equally to England. Every occurrence, which at any time turned additional capitals into domeſtic employments, neceſſarily contributed to improve the agriculture, to augment the manufactures, and to increaſe the wealth of the country, by yielding a greater quantity of productive labour. A review of the foregoing documents would illuſtrate this ſubject. As a ſupplemental proof, I have annexed *a chrono-*

* Of Linens there were made for ſale;

in 1772 -	13,089,006 yards.	- in 1782 -	15,348,744 yards.
1773 -	10,748,110	— 1783 -	17,074,777
1774 -	11,422,115	— 1784 -	19,138,593

The greater number of ſhipping, which are at preſent employed, than before the war, in the coaſt-trade of Scotland, ſeems alſo to evince an augmentation of domeſtic commerce.

logical

logical account of commerce, in this iſland, from the Reſtoration to the year 1785, with deſign to exhibit a more connected view of the weakneſs of its commencement, the ſtruggles of its progreſſion, and the greatneſs of its maturity, than has yet been done.

A CHRO-

To front p. 207.

A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT of COMMERCE in this ISLAND, from the Reſtoration to the Year 1785.

Epochs.	*Ships cleared outwards.* Tons	Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.	*Value of Cargoes exported.* Engliſh.	Scotch.	Total.	*Balance of Trade.* Engliſh.	Scotch.	Total.	*Nett Cuſtoms paid into the Exchequer.*	*Money coined.*
The Reſtoration,	1663 1669	95,266	47,634	142,900	£. 2,043,043	—	£. 2,043,043	Unfavourable.	—	—	£. 390,000	By Charles II. £. 7,524,105 By James II. 2,737,637 £. 10,261,742
The Revolution,	1688	190,533	95,267	285,800	4,086,087	—	4,086,087	Doubtful.	—	—	551,141	
Peace of Ryſwick,	1697	144,264	100,524	244,788	3,525,907	—	3,525,907	£. 43,320	—	£. 43,320	694,892	By William III. £. 10,511,963
Laſt Years of William III.	1700 01 02	273,693	43,635	317,328	6,045,432	—	6,045,432	1,386,832	—	1,386,832	1,474,861	
Wars of Anne,	1709	243,693	45,625	289,318	5,913,357	—	5,913,357	2,116,451	—	2,116,451	1,257,332	By Anne, £. 2,691,626
	1712	326,620	29,115	355,735	6,868,840	—	6,868,840	3,014,175	—	3,014,175	1,315,423	
Firſt of George I.	1713 14 15	421,431	26,573	448,004	7,696,573	—	7,696,573	1,904,151	—	1,904,151	1,588,162	By George I. £. 8,725,921
Firſt of George II.	1726 27 28	432,832	23,651	456,483	7,891,739	—	7,891,739	3,514,768	—	3,514,768	1,621,731	
Peaceful Years,	1736 37 38	476,941	26,627	503,568	9,993,232	—	9,993,232	4,642,502	—	4,642,502	1,492,009	
War of —	1739 40 41	384,191	87,260	471,451	8,870,499	—	8,870,499	2,455,313	—	2,455,313	1,399,865	
Peaceful Years,	1749 50 51	609,798	51,386	661,184	12,599,112	—	12,599,112	6,521,964	—	6,521,964	1,565,942	
War of —	1755 56 57	451,254	73,456	524,710	11,708,515	663,401	12,371,916	4,046,465	—	4,046,465	1,763,314	By George II. Gold, £. 11,662,216 Silver, 304,360 £. 11,966,576
Firſt of George III.	1760	471,241	102,737	573,978	14,694,970	1,086,205	15,781,175	5,746,270	235,412	5,981,682	1,969,934	
	61	508,220	117,835	626,055	14,873,191	1,165,722	16,038,913	6,822,051	417,082	7,239,133	1,866,152	
	62	480,444	120,126	600,570	13,545,171	998,165	14,543,336	5,263,858	280,240	5,553,098	1,858,417	
	63	561,724	87,293	649,017	14,487,507	1,091,436	15,578,943	4,495,146	187,545	4,682,691	2,249,604	
	64	583,934	74,800	658,734	16,512,404	1,243,927	17,756,331	6,148,096	357,575	6,505,671	2,169,473	
	65	651,402	67,855	719,257	14,550,507	1,180,867	15,731,374	3,660,764	258,466	3,919,230	2,271,231	
	66	684,281	61,753	746,034	14,024,964	1,163,704	15,188,668	2,549,189	182,715	2,731,904	2,448,280	
	67	645,835	63,206	709,041	13,844,511	1,245,490	15,090,001	1,770,555	222,293	1,992,848	2,355,850	
	68	668,786	72,734	741,520	15,117,983	1,502,150	16,620,133	3,239,322	265,501	3,504,823	2,445,016	
	69	709,855	63,020	772,875	13,438,236	1,563,053	15,001,289	1,529,676	337,523	1,867,199	2,639,086	
	1770	703,495	57,476	760,971	14,266,654	1,729,915	15,996,569	2,049,716	514,556	2,564,272	2,546,144	
	71	773,390	63,532	836,922	17,161,147	1,857,334	19,018,481	4,339,151	471,005	4,810,156	2,642,129	
	72	818,108	72,603	890,711	16,159,413	1,560,756	17,720,169	2,860,961	350,492	3,211,453	2,525,596	
	73	771,483	54,820	826,303	14,763,253	1,612,175	16,375,428	3,356,412	496,376	3,852,788	2,436,017	
	74	798,240	65,273	863,513	15,916,344	1,372,143	17,288,487	2,888,678	169,866	3,058,544	2,567,770	
	75	783,226	64,860	848,086	15,202,366	1,123,998	16,326,364	2,275,003	—	2,275,003	2,481,031	
	76	778,878	72,188	851,066	13,729,726	1,025,973	14,755,699	2,962,424	279,292	3,241,716	2,480,403	By George III. before the 31ſt of Dec. 1780. Gold, £. 30,457,808 Silver, 7,126 £. 30,464,931
	77	736,234	83,468	819,702	12,653,363	837,643	13,491,006	1,472,996	35,389	1,508,385	2,229,106	
	78	657,238	98,113	755,351	11,551,070	702,820	12,253,890	1,379,653	—	1,379,653	2,162,681	
	79	590,911	139,124	736,035	12,693,430	837,273	13,530,703	2,092,133	62,501	2,154,634	2,502,274	
	1780	619,462	134,515	753,977	11,622,333	1,002,039	12,624,372	1,688,494	99,315	1,787,809	2,723,920	From 31 Dec. 1780, to 1 Jan. 1785. in Gold, £. 2,624,079 in Silvers, 264 £. 2,624,343
	81	547,953	163,410	711,363	10,569,187	763,109	11,332,296	—	—	—	2,791,428	
	82	552,851	208,511	761,362	12,355,750	653,709	13,009,459	2,823,143	—	2,823,143	2,861,563	
	83	795,669	157,969	953,638	13,851,671	829,824	14,681,495	1,737,027	—	1,737,027	2,848,320	
	84	846,355	113,064	959,419	14,171,375	929,900	15,101,275	52,209	—	52,209	3,326,639	Total to 1 January, 1785 £. 33,089,274

Of the annexed table, the eye inſtantly perceives the diſpoſition of the parts and the arrangement of the whole. In the firſt column may be ſeen the various epochs, beginning with the Reſtoration, whence certainty may be ſaid to commence, and ending with the year 1784, becauſe here our documents fail, as the public accounts are yet brought no lower down. The ſecond column gives the tonnage of the ſhipping that ſucceſſively ſailed from England, diſtinguiſhing the Engliſh from the foreign, in order to find, in the amount of each, the ſalutary effects of the act of navigation. The third column contains the value of the merchandize ſent out, that the extent of the cargoes may be compared with the quantity of tonnage which carried them: and, though the Scotch tonnage could not be adjoined, the value of the Scotch exports is added, becauſe every one finds a gratification in extending his views. The fourth column exhibits the reſult of our exports and imports compared, which forms what has been denominated the balance of trade. The fifth column ſtates the nett cuſtoms, which our foreign commerce has yielded at different periods, becauſe, while the detail gratifies curioſity, it furniſhes no inconſiderable proof of the proſperity or decline of our traffic. And the laſt column contains, what may be regarded as the reſult of the whole, the ſums which have been coined in England, during every reign ſubſequent to the Reſtoration; becauſe *the mint*, as Sir Robert Cotton expreſſes it, *is the pulſe of the commonwealth.*

That

That the progreſs of our traffic and navigation, from the commencement of the ſeventeenth century to the æra of the Reſtoration, had been remarkably rapid, all mercantile writers ſeem to admit. The navigation act contributed greatly to carry this advance up to the Revolution. Sir William Petty ſtated, in 1670, "that the ſhipping of England had trebled in forty years." Doctor Davenant afterwards aſſerted *, "that experienced merchants did agree, that we had, in 1688, near double the tonnage of trading ſhipping to what we had in 1666. And Anderſon † inferred, from the concurring teſtimony of authors on this intereſting ſubject, "that the Engliſh nation was in the zenith of commercial proſperity at the Revolution." We have already examined how much the commercial gain of our traders was taken away by the war which immediately followed that moſt important event in our annals. But the eye muſt be again thrown over the chronological table, if the reader wiſhes for a more comprehenſive view of the continual progreſs of navigation, from the ſtation of eminence to which Anderſon had traced it; its temporary interruptions; and its final exaltation, ſince the independence of the American ſtates. If we compare the greatneſs of 1688, with the amount of 1774 and 1784, we ſhall diſcover that the navigation of the latter epochs had reached a point of the mercantile heavens ſo much more exalted than the former, as to

* Vol. ii. p. 29. † Commerce, vol. ii. p. 187.

reverſe

reverſe its poſition; as to convert what was once *the zenith* into *the nadir* now.

	Tons Engliſh.	D° foreign.	Total.
Contraſt 1688 —	190,533 —	95,267 —	285,800
with 1774 —	798,240 —	65,273 —	863,513
with 1784 —	846,355 —	113,064 —	959,419

The famous Mr. Gregory King calculated *, "*that we gained annually on the freight of Engliſh ſhipping, in* 1688, — — — £. 810,000."

If the "*national profit on the naval trade of England, in* 1688," amounted to £. 810,000, what ought to have been *the national profit on our naval trade in* 1774?

If 190,000 tons gained £. 810,000,

790,000 tons muſt have gained - £. 3,367,889.

940,000 tons, including the Scots ſhips, muſt alſo have gained, in 1784 — — — £. 4,060,000.

This is doubtleſs a vaſt ſum to be annually gained from our outward freights; but, great as it appears, when the ſame ſum is added for our inward freights, in a mere mercantile light, the immenſe navigation, from whence it ariſes, muſt be conſidered as ſtill more advantageous to the ſtate, as a never-failing ſource, from which ſeamen

* Dav. Works, vol. vi. p. 146.

and tranſports may be conſtantly drawn for the uſes of war. If from the tonnage, which may be moſt ſafely followed in diſcovering the benefits of our navigation and commerce, during every age, we look into the *column of cargoes*, in the chronological table, we ſhall find an excellent auxiliary, in the ledger of the inſpector-general, for conducting our inquiries and informing our judgments.

To inveſtigate the value of our exports and of our imports, during the diſturbed times of our Edwards and Henries, or even in the placid days of Elizabeth, would be a reſearch of curioſity rather than of uſe. On a ſubject of ſuch difficult diſcuſſion, as no ſufficient data had yet been eſtabliſhed, the moſt judicious calculators could only ſpeak in terms indefinite, and therefore unſatisfactory: yet, Sir William Petty, Sir Joſiah Child, Dr. Davenant, and Mr. Locke, all agreed in aſſerting, that our commerce flouriſhed extremely from 1666 to 1688, when it had increaſed beyond all former example; and when its general growth, in the opinion of the moſt experienced merchants, was double in its magnitude at the Revolution, to its uſual ſize at the Reſtoration. In the chronological table, the value of exported commodities was adjuſted for both theſe periods, by a ſtandard, which ſeems to be thus admitted as equal, by the wiſeſt men in England.

During that day of commercial darkneſs, the experienced Sir Philip Meadows, whoſe preſence for ſo many years did honour to the Board of Trade,

Trade, ſat down to form "*a general eſtimate of the trade of England,*" from the amount of the duties paid at the cuſtom-houſe on our importations and on our exports. Directed by his native ſagacity, he produced a ſtatement of our commerce on an average of the three years of war 1694—5—6; which appears now, from a compariſon with the entries in the ledger of the inſpector-general, to have been wonderfully exact.

Value of exports *, according to Sir Philip's calculation, — — — £.	3,124,000
D°, according to the ledger, from Michaelmas 1696 to D° 1697,	3,525,907
Value of imports, according to him, — — — — £.	3,050,000
D°, according to the ledger, —	3,482,587.
Favourable balance of trade, according to him, — — £.	74,000
D°, according to the ledger, —	43,341

In the foregoing detail, from which we aſcertain by compariſon nearly the truth, we behold

* But Sir P. Meadows excluded from his calculation the value of butter, cheeſe, candles, beef, pork, and other proviſions exported to the Plantations, and the value of their products imported into England, which were afterwards conſumed; "being in the nature of our coaſt-trade among our own people." Had he included theſe, his ſtatement had been ſtill nearer in its amount to the ledger of the inſpector-general.

the inconſiderable extent of the national commerce at the peace of Ryſwick. *If,* ſaid that able ſtateſman, *the preſent condition of England be not ſatisfactory to the public, from the general account of it here mentioned,* various ways may be followed to improve it: And his ſuggeſtions having been gradually adopted in after times, produced at length the wiſhed-for effects of an active induſtry at home, and a proſperous navigation abroad. From that epoch, we have in the books of the inſpector-general all the certainty, with regard to the annual amount of our exports and our imports, which the nature of ſuch complicated tranſactions eaſily admit. But, ſhould the nation wiſh for more ſatisfactory evidence, on a ſubject ſo intereſting, becauſe it involves in it the welfare of the ſtate, the ſame motion, which was made in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Lownds *, during the reign of Queen Anne, to oblige the traders to make true entries of their cargoes, may be again propoſed, and, if it can be freed from objection, carried into effect by parliamentary regulations.

Mean time, the tonnage of ſhipping, which tranſported the ſuperfluous products of England, has been adjoined, in the foregoing table, to the value of cargoes, in order to ſupply any defect of

* "In order to prevent this miſchief [of exaggerated entries] ſays Davenant, a clauſe was offered, and very much inſiſted on by Mr. Lownds, but obſtructed by the merchants, for ends not very juſtifiable, and the clauſe was not received."—Dav. vol. v. Whitworth's edit. p. 443.

proof,

proof, and to corroborate the certainty of each by a fair compariſon of both. When Sir Philip Meadows conſidered, with ſo much attention, our commercial affairs, he gave it as his opinion, " that the advantage of trade cannot be computed by any general meaſure better than by that of the navigation." It requires not, indeed, the graſp of Sir Philip's mind to perceive, that the tonnage is naturally the evidence the moſt to be relied on, where there is any doubt: in this mode of proof there is no fiction: the entries are made at the Cuſtom-houſe, on the oath of the maſters; yet the tonnage is ſuppoſed to contain about one-third leſs than the truth: but, the general average being once known and admitted, we may argue from the apparent amount, with no more dread of deception, than we ſhould expect from the notices of the moſt authentic record. In comparing the value of the cargoes with the extent of the tonnage, as both are ſtated in the foregoing table, we ought to infer that the firſt muſt always be ſuperior in its riſings and depreſſions to the laſt. It was with a view to this compariſon and correſpondence, that the bullion, whoſe annual exportation for ſo many years frightened the graveſt politicians, was deducted from the value of the tranſported merchandize; ſince it occupied little room in the tonnage, yet ſwelled conſiderably the calculation of the general cargo: But, the exported bullion was retained in forming the balances of trade, becauſe, though it cannot properly be conſidered as a manufacture, it

ought nevertheleſs to be deemed a very valuable part of our actual wealth, which we ſend abroad in expectation of a profitable return.

Thus, we ſee in the foregoing documents *the beſt evidence*, with regard to our navigation and our trade, *that the nature of the enquiry admits*. He who wiſhes to ſatisfy his doubts, or to gain information, by throwing his eye over the ſtate of our exports from 1696 to 1774, as it has been publiſhed by Sir Charles Whitworth; or the value of cargoes which have been exported during the preſent reign, as they have been arranged in the foregoing table; muſt perceive, that when one year furniſhes a great exportation, the next ſupplies the foreign markets with leſs; the third uſually ſends a cargo ſuperior to the firſt; and the fourth gives often a ſmaller quantity than the laſt, whoſe amount however is ſeldom below the level of the firſt. This ſtriking variation ariſes chiefly from the irregularities of univerſal demand, ſince foreign fairs are ſometimes empty and ſometimes full; and partly from the ſpeculations, perhaps the caprice, of traders. And it has been ſhewn from the moſt ſatisfactory proofs, that the year of profound peace, which immediately ſucceeds the concluſion of a lengthened war, always furniſhes a great exportation, becauſe every merchant makes haſte to be rich: Thus, 1698, 1714, 1749, 1764, and 1784, form epochs of great relative traffic. But it is from the averages of diſtant years, at given periods, that we can only form a decided opinion with regard to the real proſperity or decay

cay either of commerce, or of navigation: Thus, from the Reſtoration to the Revolution, the foreign trade of England had doubled in its amount: from the peace of Ryſwick to the demiſe of King William, it had nearly riſen in the ſame proportion. During the firſt thirty years of the current century, it had again doubled: and from the year 1750 to 1774, notwithſtanding the interruptions of an eight-years intervenient war, it appears to have gained more than one-fourth, whether we determine from the table of tonnage *, or the value of exports.

Though the late war ſeems to have been levelled rather againſt the induſtry of the manufacturer and the projects of the merchant, than againſt the force of our fleets or the power of our armies; though repeated blows of unuſual ſeverity have been given to our navigation and our trade; yet, our domeſtic diligence purſues with unabated ardour its uſual occupations; the number of our ſhipping at preſent is great beyond example; and our trade, which was ſaid to be almoſt undone, ſtill riſes ſuperior to its various oppreſſions. Let theſe conſiderations comfort every lover of his country, ſince it is as difficult to animate the deſpondent, as it is to convince the incredulous.

If from theſe exhilarating topics, we turn to the column in the chronological table, which is occupied by the balance of trade, we ſhall find rather a more melancholy topic. No diſquiſition has

* See the annexed Table.

engaged the pens of a more numerous claſs of writers than that fruitful ſubject; who all complained of the difficulty of their labours, as they were each directed by feeble lights; and who warned their readers of the uncertainty of their concluſions, becauſe their calculations had been formed on very diſputable data.

In reviewing their performances, how amuſing is it to obſerve, that though the ſagacious Petty, and the experienced Child, the profound Temple, and the intelligent Davenant, had all taken it for granted, as a poſtulate which could not be diſputed, *that a balance of trade, either favourable or diſadvantageous, enriched or impoveriſhed every commercial country* — a writer, as able as the ableſt of them, ſhould have at length appeared, who denied the truth of its exiſtence, at leaſt of its efficacy! The late Mr. Hume ſeems to have written his fine *Eſſay on the Balance of Trade*, partly with deſign to throw a diſcredit on the declamations of Mr. Gee, "*which had ſtruck the nation with an univerſal panic*," perhaps more with the laudable purpoſe of convincing the public "*of the impoſſibility of our loſing our money by a wrong balance, as long as we preſerve our people and our induſtry.*"

Whatever wiſe men may determine with regard to this curious, perhaps important ſpeculation, reaſon mean while aſſerts, what experience ſeems to confirm, "*that there is a certain quantity of bullion ſent by one nation to another, to pay for what they have not been able to compenſate by the barter of commodities, or by the remittance of bills of exchange*

change; which may be therefore deemed the balance of trade." And a writer on political œconomy, equal to Mr. Hume in reach of capacity, and ſuperior to him in accuracy of argument, the late Sir James Stewart, has examined his reaſonings, and overturned his ſyſtem, elegant in its ſtructure, but weak in its foundation. It behoves us, therefore, to look a little more narrowly into the ſtate of the traffic which Britain carries on with the world, in order to diſcover, if poſſible, how much bullion ſhe pays to each of her commercial correſpondents, or how much ſhe receives from them.

Admitting that the apparent tide of payments flowed againſt this iſland anterior to the Revolution, it does not ſeem eaſy to diſcover the exact point of time when it began to ebb in a contrary direction.

Sir Philip Meadows, we have ſeen, found a balance in our favour, on an average of the buſineſs of 1694—5—6, of — — —	£. 74,000.
The ledger of the inſpector-general ſhewed a balance, on the traffic of 1697, of — — —	43,341.
The re-eſtabliſhment of peace gave us a return, in 1698, of —	1,789,744.
But, an increaſe of imports reduced the balance, in 1699, to —	1,080,497.
And an augmentation of exports again raiſed the balance, in 1700, to — — —	1,332,541.

We

We now behold the dawn of knowledge, in reſpect to this intereſting part of our œconomy, which has at all times been the moſt enveloped in darkneſs, which ſometimes introduced all the unpleaſantneſs of uncertainty, and entailed too often the gloom of deſpondence. But, it ought to be remembered, that whether we import more than we export, is a mere queſtion of fact, which depends on no one's opinion, ſince, like all other diſputable facts, it may be proved by evidence.

We muſt recur once more to the ledger of the inſpector-general of our foreign trade, as the beſt evidence which the nature of the inquiry can furniſh, or perhaps ought to be required. After admitting the force of every objection that has been made againſt the entries at the cuſtom-houſe, we may apply to that curious record of our traffic, what the Lord Chief Juſtice Hale * aſſerted, with regard to the pariſh regiſters of births and burials, "*that it gives a greater demonſtration than a hundred notional arguments can either evince or confute.*" It was from that ſource of accurate information, that the balances were drawn which are inſerted in the foregoing chronological table: and it requires only "*a ſnatch of ſight*" to perceive all the fluctuations of our mercantile dealings with the world, as they were directed by our activity, or our caprice, or remiſſneſs, and to decide with regard to the extent of our gains at every period, by the ſettlement of our grand account of profit and loſs on every commercial adventure. One

* Origin of Mankind, p. 207.

truth

truth muſt be admitted, which has been conſidered by ſome as a melancholy one, becauſe they inferred from it, "*that we were driving a loſing trade*," that the apparent balance has been leſs favourable in the preſent than in the preceding reign. In order to account for this unwelcome notice, it has been inſiſted, that, as we grew more opulent, we became more luxurious, and, as our voluptuouſneſs increaſed, our induſtry diminiſhed, till, in the progreſs of our folly, we found a delight in ſacrificing our diligence and œconomy to the gratifications of a pleaſurable moment, during a diſſipated age.

But, declamation is oftener uſed to conceal the bewitching errors of ſophiſtry, than to inveſtigate the inſtructive deductions of truth. Conſidering the balance of trade as an intereſting ſubject to a commercial nation, it muſt be deemed not only of uſe, but of importance, to enquire minutely which of our mercantile correſpondents are our debtors, and which are our creditors; and to ſtate which country remits us a favourable balance, and to which we are obliged in our turn to pay one. Nor, is it ſatisfactory to contraſt the general balances of different periods, in order to form general concluſions, which may be either juſt or fallacious, as circumſtances are attended to or neglected. From a particular ſtatement it will clearly appear, that we trade with the greater number of the nations of Europe on an advantageous ground; with few of them on an unfavourable one; that ſome ſtates, as Italy, Turkey, and Venice, may be conſidered

ſidered as of a doubtful kind, becauſe they are not, in their balances, either conſtantly favourable or unfavourable. To baniſh uncertainty from diſquiſition is always of importance. With this deſign, it is propoſed to ſtate an average of the balance of apparent payments, which were made during the years 1771—2—3 to England by each correſponding community, or which ſhe made to them: and the averages of theſe years are taken, in order to diſcover the genuine balance of trade on the whole, ſince they ſeemed to be the leaſt affected by the approaching ſtorm. Where the ſcale of remittance vibrates in ſuſpence, between the countries of doubtful payments, an average of ſix years is taken, deducting the adverſe exceſſes of import and of export from each other.

Let us examine the following detail of our European commerce:

Countries of favourable balances		*Countries of unfavourable balances.*	
Denmark and Norway —	£. 78,478	Eaſt country [doubtful]	£. 100,230
Flanders — —	780,088	Ruſſia — —	822,607
France — —	190,605	Sweden — —	117,365
Germany — —	695,484	Turkey [doubtful] —	120,497
Holland — —	1,464,149	Venice [doubtful] —	11,369
Italy [doubtful] —	43,289		£. 1,172,068
Portugal } — —	274,132	Favourable balance	3,636,504
Madeira } — —	9,514		
Spain } — —	442,539		
Canaries } — —	23,347		
Streights — —	113,310		
Ireland — —	663,516		
Iſle of Man — —	13,773		
Alderney — —	1,229		
Guernſey [doubtful] —	6,269		
Jerſey [doubtful] —	8,850		
	£. 4,808,572		£. 4,808,572

Having

Having thus fairly ſtated the countries of Europe, from which we receive yearly a balance on our trade, againſt thoſe to which we annually make unfavourable payments; and having found, upon ſtriking the difference, that we gained, at the commencement of the preſent war, a nett balance of £. 3,636,504, let us now enquire what we gained or loſt by *our factories* in Africa and in Aſia.

Africa — —	£. 656,599	East Indies —	£. 1,105,511
Unfavourable balance	448,912		
	£. 1,105,511		£. 1,105,511

Having thus found an unfavourable balance on the traffic of our factories, of £. 448,912, it is now time to examine the trade of our then colonies, which has too often been conſidered as the only commerce worthy of our care; as if we had gained every thing, and loſt nothing by it.

Favourable balances.		*Unfavourable balances.*	
Newfoundland [doubtful]	£. 29,484	Antigua —	— £. 44,168
Canada —	— 187,974	Barbadoes —	— 44,969
Nova Scotia —	— 34,434	Carolina [doubtful]	— 108,050
New England —	— 790,244	Hudſon's Bay —	— 2,501
New York —	— 343,992	Jamaica —	— 753,770
Penſylvania —	— 521,900	Montſerrat —	— 46,623
Virginia and Maryland [doubtful]	— 165,230	Nevis —	— 47,238
		St. Chriſtopher's	— 149,259
Georgia [doubtful]	— 360	Grenades —	— 288,962
Florida —	— 37,966	Dominica —	— 158,447
Bermudas —	— 9,541	St. Vincent —	— 104,238
	£. 2,121,125	Tobago —	— 16,064
		New Providence	— 2,094
		Tortola —	— 23,032
		St. Croix —	— 11,697
		St. Euſtatia —	— 5,096
		Spaniſh Weſt Indies	— 35,352
		Greenland —	— 18,274
		Balance	— 261,291
	£. 2,121,125		£. 2,121,125

Let

Let us now recapitulate the foregoing balances:

Gained on our European commerce	—	£. 3,636,504
Deduct the loſs on the trade of our factories	—	448,912
		£. 3,187,596
Gained on the balance of our colony commerce	—	261,291
Nett balance gained on the trade of England		£. 3,448,887
Nett balance gained on the trade of Scotland, according to an average of 1771—2—3	—	435,957
Nett gain on the Britiſh commerce	—	£. 3,884,844

Of an extenſive building, we vainly attempt to form an accurate judgment, of the proportion of the parts, or the beauty of the whole, without meaſuring the ſize of the columns, and examining the congruity of the reſult, by the ſuitableneſs of every dimenſion. Of the Britiſh commerce, ſo luxuriant in its ſhoots, and ſo interwoven in its branches, it is equally impoſſible to diſcover the total or relative products, without calculating the gain or loſs, that ultimately reſults to the nation from every market. Thus, in the foregoing ſtatement we perceive, which of our European cuſtomers pay us a balance, favourable and conſtant; which of them are ſometimes our debtors, and at other times our creditors; which of them continually draw an unfavourable balance from us: and, by oppoſing the averages of the profits and loſſes of every annual adventure to each other, we at length diſcovered, from the reſult, the vaſt amount of our gains. The mercantile tranſactions at our factories in Africa and Aſia, were ſtated

againſt each other, becauſe they ſeemed to be of a ſimilar nature. But, whether we ought to conſider the balance of £. 448,912 as abſolutely loſt, muſt depend on the eſſential circumſtance, whether we conſume at home the merchandizes of the Eaſt, or, by exporting them for the conſumption of ſtrangers, we draw back with intereſt what we had only advanced: ſhould the nation prefer the beautiful manufactures of the Indian to her own, we ought to regard her prudence as on a level with the indiſcretion of the milliner, who adorns her own perſon with the gaudy attire, which ſhe had prepared for the ornament of the great and the gay. Our then colonies were ſtated againſt each other, in order to ſhew the relative advantage of each, as well as the real importance of the whole. Of the valuable products imported from them, which ſeem to form ſo great a balance againſt the nation, we ought to obſerve, that they are either gainful, or diſadvantageous, as we apply them: we gain by the tobacco, the ſugars, the ſpirits, the drugs, the dying-woods, which we re-export to our neighbours: we loſe by what we unneceſſarily waſte.

The colony war has added greatly to our ancient ſtock of experience, by exhibiting the ſtate of our commerce in various lights, as it was forced into different channels. The balance of trade has thence aſſumed a new appearance, as it is ſhewn by the cuſtom-houſe books. While the exports were depreſſed for a time, as they had been ſtill more by former wars, the imports roſe in the ſame proportion.

proportion. The value of both, from England, were,

	Exports.	Imports.
in 1781 —	£. 10,569,187 —	£. 11,918,991
82 —	12,355,750 —	9,532,607
83 —	13,851,671 —	12,114,644
84 —	14,171,375 —	14,119,166

The number of ſhips, which, during theſe years, entered inwards, have alſo increaſed fully equal to the augmented value of cargoes. But, were we to form a judgment of the balance of trade from the difference which thus appears from the cuſtom-houſe books, we ſhould be led to manifeſt error. Let us take the year 1784 for an example. Thus ſtood

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
The Eaſt India trade	£. 730,858	£. 2,996,548	£. 2,265,690
The Weſt India trade –	1,160,070 —	3,372,785 —	2,212,715
The Greenland trade	— —	54,050 —	54,050
	£. 1,890,928	£. 6,423,383	£. 4,532,455

Yet, this £. 4,532,455, conſiſting of the importations from our factories, our colonies, and fiſhery, forms no legitimate balance, however much this vaſt ſum may deduct from the apparent balance of the cuſtom-houſe account. The ſame ſtatement, and the ſame obſervation, may be made with regard to the trade of Scotland. To this may be added, a melancholy truth, that we have loſt the export of corn, to the annual value of a million, which is ſaid to be owing rather to an increaſe

creaſe of people, than to a decline of agriculture, and which entered with ſo much advantage into the balance of 1749—50—51. In years of ſcarcity we now import large quantities of corn; and when ſo great a ſum is taken from the one ſcale, and thrown into the other, the difference on the apparent balance muſt neceſſarily be immenſe.

Of the truth of theſe reaſonings, and of theſe facts, the general exchanges, which are univerſally admitted to have been, for ſome years, extremely favourable to Great Britain, are a ſufficient confirmation. When there exiſts no diſorder in the coin, the exchange is no bad teſt, though it is no abſolute proof on which ſide the balance of payments turns, whether againſt a commercial country, or for it. The vaſt importations of foreign coin and bullion, ſince the eſtabliſhment of peace, prove how much and how generally the exchanges had run in favour of this enterprizing nation. And the price of bullion, which, during this period, has been much lower than had ever been known, leads us to infer, that the extent of theſe importations has been proportionally great.

In conſidering the balance of trade, it is to be lamented, that we cannot obtain, from the tonnage of veſſels entering inwards, the ſame ſatisfactory information, as we have already gained from the numbers of ſhipping, which having carried out the merchandizes, were brought as a confirmation of the value of exported cargoes: for, the materials of manufacture, being much bulkier than the manufactures themſelves, require

a greater number of tranſports. It may, however, give a new view of an engaging ſubject, to ſee the tonnage of veſſels, which entered inwards at different periods, compared with the ſuppoſed balance of trade.

Ships cleared outwards. — 1709. — Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
243,693 —	45,625 —	289,318
		289,318

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
89,298 —	33,901 —	123,199
Favourable balance of tonnage		166,119
		289,318
Balance of merchandize ſent out, excluſive of bullion — —		£. 1,402,764

Ships cleared outwards — 1718. — Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
427,962 —	16,809 —	444,771
		444,771
Unfavourable balance of merchandize ſent out, excluſive of bullion		£. 308,000

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
353,871 —	15,517 —	369,388
Favourable balance of tonnage		75,383
		444,771

Ships cleared outwards. — 1737. — Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
476,941 —	26,627 —	503,568
		503,568

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
374,593 —	45,409 —	420,002
Favourable balance of tonnage		83,566
		503,568
Balance of merchandize ſent out, excluſive of bullion — —		£. 3,008,705

Ships

Ships cleared outwards.— 1751-2-3.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
612,485 —	42,593 —	655,078	435,091 —	61,303 —	496,394
			Favourable balance of tonnage		158,684
		655,078			655,078
			Balance of merchandize fent out, excluſive of bullion — —		£. 3,976,727

Ships cleared outwards.— 1771-2-3.—Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
711,730 —	63,294 —	775,024	608,066 —	123,870 —	731,936
			Favourable balance of tonnage		43,088
		775,024			775,024
			Balance of merchandize fent out, excluſive of bullion — —		£. 3,518,858

Ships cleared outwards. — 1784. — Ships entered inwards.

Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.	Tons Eng.	D° foreign.	Total.
846,355 —	113,064 —	959,419	869,259 —	157,168 —	1,026,427
Unfavourable balance	—	67,008			
		1,026,427			1,026,427
Balance of merchandize fent out — —		£. 52,209			

From the foregoing facts, men will probably draw their inferences, with regard to our debility and decline, or to our healthfulneſs and advancement, according to their uſual modes of thinking, to their accuſtomed gloomineſs or hilarity of mind, or to the effuſions of the company which they commonly keep. One party, taking it for granted, amid their anxieties, that the national commerce, domeſtic and foreign, is in the laſt

ſtage of a conſumption, may poſſibly attribute a ſuppoſed idleneſs and inattention to the exceſſive luxury, in kind the moſt pernicious, in extent the moſt extravagant, which deeply pervades every order: the other party, directed in their enquiries by an habitual chearfulneſs, may perhaps determine, from the buſy occupations which they ſee in the ſhop and the field, of an activity and attention, the natural forerunners of proſperity and acquiſition, thinking that they perceive, in the heavy-loaded ſhips, as they arrive, *the materials* of a manufacture, extenſive and encreaſing. If any one wiſhes for the aid of experience in fixing his judgment, he need only examine the affairs of the American States, and of Ireland, during the effluxion of the laſt hundred years. A great balance of trade ſtood conſtantly againſt both theſe countries; yet, both have more than doubled the numbers of their people, the amount of their productive labour, the value of their exported merchandize, and the extent of their real wealth.

From the balance of trade, which, as an intereſting ſubject, ſeemed to merit ample diſcuſſion, it is proper to advert to *the column of cuſtoms* in the chronological table, becauſe we may derive a ſupplemental proof of the ſucceſſive increaſe of our trade, of our commercial knowledge, and of our real opulence. Theſe duties had their commencement from the act of tonnage and poundage, at the Reſtoration, when the whole cuſtoms did not amount to £.400,000. This

law, which impoſed 5 per cent. of the value on goods *exported*, as well as on goods imported, on *domeſtic manufactures*, as well as on foreign merchandizes; which laid particular taxes on *our own woollens*, and double taxes on all goods when ſent out by aliens; was ſurely framed by no very judicious plan, though two and a half per cent. of the value were allowed to be drawn back on goods, which having been imported ſhould be ſent out in a twelvemonth. The publications of Mun, of Fortrey, and of Child, ſoon after the Reſtoration, diffuſed more univerſal acquaintance with commercial legiſlation. The alien duties on the export of native commodities and domeſtic manufactures were judiciouſly repealed, in 1673: The taxes on the exportation of woollens, of corn, meal, and bread, were happily removed in 1700: Yet, it was not till 1722 that, on a ſyſtematic conſideration of burdens on trade, all duties on the export of Britiſh manufactures were withdrawn, except a few articles, which being regarded as *materials*, were ſtill to be ſent out with diſcouragement. Theſe were doubtleſs conſiderable incentives to exportation, by ſending the goods ſo much cheaper to market. But the imports were diſcouraged then, and have been ſucceſſively burdened with new ſubſidies and additional per cents. till the revenue of cuſtoms ſwelled to £. 3,226,639, in 1784. This ſyſtem admits of further improvement, which the moſt intelligent men are preparing to make. A machine, however, of very complicated parts, re-

quires very attentive labour before it can be reduced to fewer movements of a ſimpler form.

The column of coinage was introduced in the laſt place, as its proper ſtation, becauſe the increaſe of coins, by means of the operations of the mint, ariſe generally from the profits of commerce, at leaſt from the demand of traders: and of conſequence the quantity of circulating money muſt in every country be in proportion nearly to the extent of buſineſs or frequency of transfers. The fears of men, with regard to a wrong balance of trade, have not been at any time greater than the continual dread of a total deprivation of our coins. And both have produced a numerous claſs of writers, who have publiſhed their theories, not ſo much, perhaps, to enlighten the world, as to give vent to their lamentations.

While the rents of the land were paid in its product; while the freemen contributed perſonal ſervice inſtead of a ſpecified tax; and while the arts had not yet been divided into their claſſes, there would be little uſe for the convenient meaſure of coins. The converſion of almoſt every ſervice and duty into a payment of money marks a conſiderable change in our domeſtic affairs. And in proportion as refinement gained ground of rudeneſs, as induſtry prevailed over idleneſs, as manufacture found its way into the nation, and as commerce extended its operations and its influence, coins muſt have become more numerous in the ſubſequent ages, becauſe they were more neceſſary. From the happy acceſſion of Elizabeth, we may

trace with ſufficient certainty the progreſs and extent of our public coinage.

Coined by Queen Elizabeth, including the debaſed ſilver of the three preceding reigns, — —	in gold —	£. 1,200,000	
	in ſilver —	4,632,932	
			£. 5,832,932
By King James — —	in gold —	£. 800,000	
	in ſilver —	1,700,000	
			2,500,000
By Charles I. — —	in gold —	£. 1,723,000	
	in ſilver —	8,776,544	
			10,499,544
By the Parliament and Cromwell —	in ſilver —	— —	1,000,000
Total coined during a century, from 1558, to 1659 [a], —	in gold —	£. 3,723,000	
	in ſilver —	16,109,476	
			£. 19,832,476
Coined by Charles II. — —		£. 7,524,105	
by James II. — —		2,737,637	
			[b] £. 10,261,742
by William III. (including the re-coinage)		— —	[c] 10,511,963
by Anne — —		—	[d] 2,691,626
by George I. — —		—	[e] 8,725,921
by George II. [f] from 1726 to 1760 —	in gold —	£. 11,662,216	
	in ſilver —	304,360	
			11,966,576
Total coined during a century, from 1659 to 1760 — —			£. 44,157,828
Coined by George III. [g] before the 1ſt January 1785 —	in gold —	£. 33,081,884	
	in ſilver —	7,390	
			£. 33,089,274

It did not, however, eſcape the penetration of Davenant, or perhaps the ſagacity of preceding writers,—"*that all this money was not co-exiſting at any one time.*" And he therefore endeavoured, with his uſual induſtry, to aſcertain the probable amount of our circulation, or the number of our coins during every period, to which either his *conjecture* or his *calculation* could reach.

[a] And. Com. vol. ii. p. 105. [b] Ralph. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 1078. [c] Campbell's Survey. [d] Ibid. [e] Ibid. [f] Tower Records. [g] Mint account.

In 1600, he ſtates*, that there probably exiſted,

in gold £. 1,500,000
in ſilver 2,500,000

£.4,000,000:

which were the tools, ſaid he, *we had to work with when we firſt began to make a figure in the commercial world.*

In 1660, there were only, in all likelihood, co-exiſting, of every preceding coinage — £.14,000,000. Sir William Petty†, who lived nearer the time, and had better information, aſſerts, "that the re-coinage at the happy Reſtoration amounted to £. 5,600,000; whereby it is probable (ſome allowance being given for hoarded money) that the whole caſh of England was then about £. 6,000,000; which he conceived was ſufficient to drive the trade of England."

And from the progreſs of our commerce from 1600 to 1660, and from the extent of our mercantile tranſactions, we may decide, which of the calculators was moſt accurate in his ſtatement, and moſt ſatisfactory in his inference. Sir Joſiah Child, indeed, remarked, in 1665‡, "*that all ſorts of men complain much of the ſcarcity of money*; yet, that men did complain as much of a ſcarcity of money ever ſince I knew the world: for, *that this humour of complaining proceeds from the frailty of our natures*, it being natural for mankind to complain of the preſent, and to commend the times paſt." That experienced merchant attributed "*the preſſing neceſſity for money, ſo viſible throughout the king-*

* Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 364. † Pol. Arith. p. 278.
‡ And. Com. vol. ii. p. 142.

dom,

dom, to the trade of bankering, which obſtructs circulation, and advances uſury." And from Child's State of the Nation, during ſeveral years ſubſequent to the Reſtoration, we may infer, that Petty was nearer the truth in his repreſentation than Davenant.

If the amount of our traffic, foreign and domeſtic, had doubled in the active period between the Reſtoration and the Revolution, we ought to conclude that the quantity of circulating coin ought to have been in the proportion of ſix to twelve; conſequently,

If there had been in 1660 – – £. 6,000,000,
There ought to have been in 1688 – 12,000,000:
Yet, after a variety of *conjectures* and *calculations*, Davenant ſtates* it at 18,500,000;

which, he inſiſted, was altogether neceſſary for carrying on our foreign and domeſtic traffic. But, the reſult of thoſe conjectures, and of thoſe calculations, derives little ſupport, and leſs authenticity, from the facts before-mentioned; which ſhewed, that a country, which for ſo many years paid conſiderable balances to the world, could not abound in coins. And there was a circumſtance of ſtill greater weight, that ſeems to have been little attended to by hiſtorians, or by theoriſts: a riſe in the intereſt of money evinces a ſcarcity of ſpecie; at leaſt it demonſtrates that the ſupply is not ſufficient for every demand. The *natural* intereſt of

* Whit. edit. vol. i. p. 367.

money

money was eight per cent. from 1624 to 1645; and it from this year gradually fell to ſix per cent. before the Reſtoration; ſo that the Parliament were enabled, in 1650, to fix by ordinance the *legal* intereſt at ſix per cent.* ; which was confirmed by ſtatute at the Reſtoration †. But, the *natural* intereſt of money gradually roſe again, from ſix per cent. in 1660, to ſeven pounds ſix ſhillings and ſix pence in 1690; and from this year to ſeven pounds ten ſhillings per cent. before the peace of Ryſwick. From 1697, the natural intereſt of money gradually ſunk, before the year 1706, to ſix per cent.; and continuing to fall, the Parliament were thereby induced [1713] to fix by ſtatute the *legal* intereſt at five per cent. Yet,

In 1711, Davenant ſtates, "*that there might be of gold and ſilver coin in being*," to the amount of —	£. 12,000,000
In 1688, he had already found —	18,500,000
Decreaſe in three and twenty years	£. 6,500,000

Yet, it is highly probable, that the value of the circulating coins might amount to £. 12,000,000 in 1711. The gradual advance of our domeſtic induſtry and foreign traffic, the reform of the ſilver, the conſequent augmentation of taxes and circulation, the greater credit both public and private, the ſinking of the *natural* intereſt of money;

* And. Com. vol. ii. p. 85. † 12 Ch. II. c. 13.

all

all demonſtrate the impoſſibility of any diminution of our coins, during the period from the Revolution to the year 1711. Anderſon *, having given his ſuffrage to Davenant's ſtatement of 1711, ſays, " that we may reaſonably conclude, as our trade is conſiderably increaſed in fifty-one years, the gold and ſilver actually exiſting in Britain [1762] cannot be leſs than £. 16,000,000 :" And we may fairly infer from the reaſonings of Anderſon, that the gold and ſilver coins actually exiſting now [1786] amount to about — £. 20,000,000.

We have ſeen, during the preſent reign, an extraordinary augmentation of our manufactures and our trade, a quicker transfer of property, a vaſt credit, a productive revenue, an unexampled demand at the mint for its coins; which all evince a greater uſe for money, and conſequently a proportional ſupply. And ſpeculation has been actually confirmed by facts and experience. When, by an admirable operation, a ſalutary reform was made of the gold coin, there appeared ſixteen million of guineas.

* Commerce, vol. ii. p. 105.

The

The three proclamations—of 1773—of 1774—and 1776, brought in, of defective gold coin, the value in tale of –	£.	15,563,593	10 8
There moreover appeared of guineas purchaſed by the bank, and of light gold which fell as a loſs on the holders of it, to the amount * of — —		2,380,643	— —
	£.	17,944,236	10 8
There remained conſequently in the circle, heavy guineas of the former reigns and the preſent, light guineas which were not brought in, and ſilver	£.	2,055,763	9 4
	£.	20,000,000	— —

If, from the amount of the coinage of the preſent reign — —	33,089,274,
the ſum of light gold re-coined is deducted, — — —	15,563,594,
we ſhall ſee in the reſult the ſum which the increaſing demand of the preſent reign required at the mint, excluſive of the re-coinage —	£. 17,525,680.

* Mr. Eden's Letters, p. 215.

It

It is not eaſy to diſcover, becauſe data cannot be readily found, what proportion of the coins, which conſtituted in tale this vaſt balance, was afterwards melted or exported. If one-fourth only continued in the circle of commerce, this circumſtance alone, when compared with the quantity of money which, in 1776, was actually found in circulation, would demonſtrate the exiſtence of a greater number of coins, and conſequently a greater amount in tale, than has been thus evinced. One truth is however clear, " *that every community, which has an equivalent to give, may always procure as many of the precious metals, wherever they may exiſt, as it wants*; in the ſame manner as the individual, who has labour, or any other property, to offer in exchange, may at all times fill his coffers with medals, or with coins. Hence, we may conclude with Mr. Hume, and with ſubſequent writers on political œconomy, equal in judgment to him, that while we preſerve our people, our ſkill, and our induſtry, we may allow the ſpecie to find its own way in the world, without any other protection than what is due to the juſtneſs of our ſtandard in fineneſs and weight, or without any other care than to give continual notice to the credulous to beware of the tricks of the clipper, the ſweater, and the coiner.

SUCH

SUCH then is the eſtimate of our comparative reſources, of the loſſes and revivals of our trade during every war, and of the numbers of our people, both before and ſince the Revolution. He who has honoured the foregoing documents with an attentive peruſal, may probably be induced to aſk, What valid reaſon is there for deſpairing of the commonwealth, by relinquiſhing hope?—The individual who deſponds, indulges a paſſion the moſt to be deplored, becauſe it is the moſt incurable. The nation, which, in any conjuncture, entertains doubts of her own abilities, is already conquered, ſince ſhe is enſlaved by her irreſolution or by her fears. The foregoing diſcuſſions would prove, if recent experience did not confirm the truth, that never ought we to have entertained a juſter confidence in our own powers than in the preſent moment; though no reaſon, ſurely, exiſts, for adopting expenſive projects, much leſs for running into imprudent enterprizes.

FINIS.

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